

Earth First!



Lughnasadh

August 1, 1996

THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL

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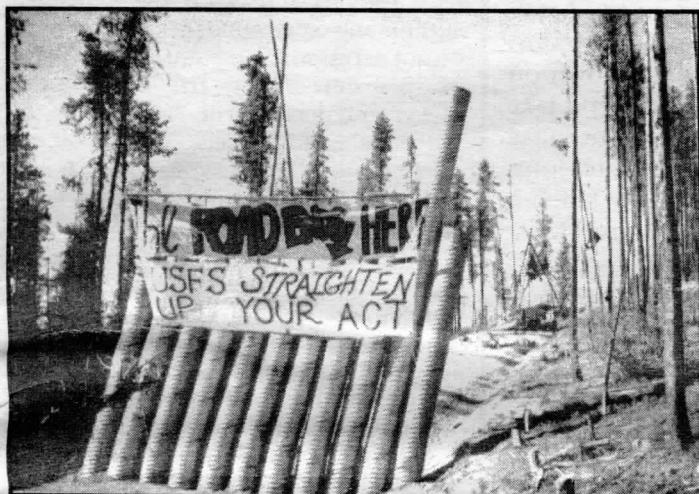
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ROAD OCCUPATION MANIA!!!

Activists Reclaim Jack Road

BY GARY MACFARLANE AND NAT SCAT

Walking up the road to the Jack sales in Cove/Mallard the week of the Round River Rendezvous, onlookers stopped and gawked. Cameras snapped



Welcome to the new "Jack Squat" in Cove/Mallard

shots of something never before seen in Idaho—a leaning wall of eleven 20-foot-long culverts stacked vertically, smack in the middle of the road, creating a twenty-foot-high welcome wall resembling the pipes of a giant circus organ.

In front of this formidable wall was a slash pile proudly proclaiming "Wild Rockies Free State." Beyond the culverts, a concrete dragon, two tripods, a bipod and an encampment graced the road.

Welcome to Cove/Mallard 1996, the year activists reclaimed the road! July 12 was day 14 of the blockade and the Freddies haven't even tried to stop us! We are here to prevent road builders from finishing bulldozing through pristine streams and critical pine marten and piliated woodpecker habitat.

A combination of events made this action successful. The Rendezvous site was only six miles from the Jack Road gate. Rendezvous participants slipped back and forth continuously between the big party and the big action. The road occupation, dubbed "Jack Squat," began late at night on June 27, under a golden moon. Several hours after the Jack Creek road contractor withdrew his roadbuilding equipment due to "real frog-strangling rains," three "pods" went up, a "dragon" lockdown device was put to bed, and trenches and other mysterious road impediments began reclamation of the road. "Warnerization" came to Idaho.

Although it had rained and snowed several days before, the skies were blue and hot for the Round River Rendezvous and the days leading up to the celebration. It seems obvious the contractor didn't want to leave equipment anywhere near several hundred Earth First!ers. Frog-strangling rain indeed!

The Freddie cops who greeted the activists at the blockade/occupation and over at the Rendezvous a few miles away, were casual and on their best behavior. One claimed nothing illegal

continued on page 26

China Left Roadless Area Expanded

BY DEAN CAMPBELL

The Fourth of July was Independence Day for the headwaters of the Sucker Creek drainage in southern Oregon's wild Siskiyou Mountains. While the Freddies were out patrolling the forests for sparkler-wielding drunks, a crack team of activists was turning hell into breakfast out on Forest Service Road 080. Just a few miles from the site of last year's Sugarloaf Timber Sale, the Forest Service and the Rough & Ready Lumber Company are hoping to clearcut their way into the ever-shrinking Kangaroo Roadless Area with the China Left Timber Sale. Their access to the sale is the ever-shrinking FS Road 080.

Like Sugarloaf, China Left is a legacy of Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield's 1989 Section 318 Rider from Hell. It was held up by the Dwyer injunction in 1991 and dropped from consideration under the President's Forest Plan (Option 9) only to be reinstated in the Record of Decision as political fellatio for the timber industry.

In the words of Siskiyou Forest Supervisor Mike Lunn, this sale "is terrible:" 12.7 million board feet to be cut from 530 acres of which 274 acres would be clearcuts (the rest would be high-grades). But the numbers do not reveal the whole story. Located high in the headwaters of Sucker Creek, this forest is classic Siskiyou old growth. Pines and firs tower over a steep, rugged landscape. Rich in diversity, the sale area is home to four known pairs of spotted owls and the rare wolverine. It is superior habitat for bats. Moreover, the Sucker Creek drainage is a Key Watershed in the President's Forest Plan and has one of the most productive runs of wild salmon and steelhead left in Oregon.

The Forest Service knows full well that this sale will do irreparable damage. In fact, they stated it on record when, in 1993, they broke off consultation with US Fish and Wildlife and withdrew the sale: "We judged the impact from the sale on Critical Habitat to be unacceptable, and the sale could not be easily modified to eliminate the negative impacts. Therefore, the Siskiyou National Forest assumed the China Left Timber Sale could not be awarded." In their Environmental Analysis they

continued on page 27



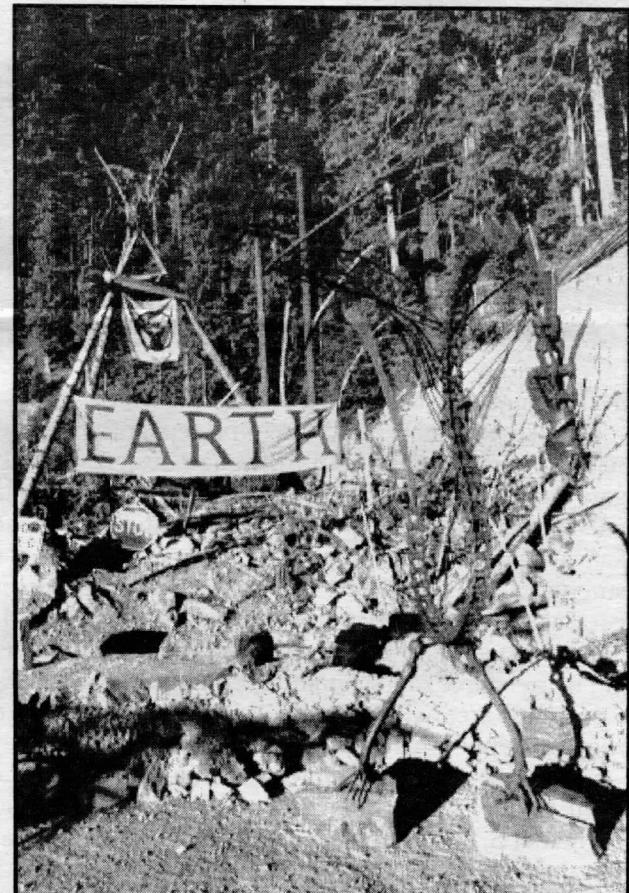
The new Siskiyou Free State defending China Left

Warner Creek: Saved from the Saws?

BY LACEY PHILLABAUM

I emerged from behind a giant Doug this morning to the sound of a helicopter flying from the jewel of Warner, the ancient forest of Kelsey Creek. I followed it down through the valley, past upper and lower basecamp. I felt transported to another dimension—eerily silent and still, my heart beating to the pulse of the blades until it was gone.

Another peaceful night had passed, a mild surprise because each is filled with anxiety that in the



Blockades (and dragons!) at the front of the ever-expanding Cascadia Free State

coming wee hours the Freddies will arrive. We gather clues daily: missing bracelets, helicopters, white trucks, all hinting that the raid will be soon.

On July 9, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals heard the Western Environmental Law Center's arguments that Judge Hogan was incorrect in overruling the original injunction protecting Warner Creek. The Western Environmental Law Center requested that the court temporarily enjoin logging until the larger appeal could be made. At base camp that morning we prayed to the spirit that animates Warner Creek. We prayed that those judges who have never looked upon this place, who know nothing of Warner, might be guided by love and freedom in their privileged position of choice. Then, after praying, we prepared. In the eyes of the law judges may have dominion over this place, but ultimately it is our power which stands between the trees and the saws.

I am sitting on the rocks above basecamp right now. The wide girth of an ancient, broken top Doug stares me down. There are photographers below me, capturing every detail, building the piles of memo-

continued on page 7

EARTH FIRST!

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Earth First!'s Alive!

Yee Haw! Can ya feel it? Something stirring. Feels like an awakening coming on. A rebirth, a renewal of energy, a focus.

What... you can't feel it? You don't know what I'm all on about? Well, maybe that's because you haven't been out in the woods lately on the front lines, you've been sitting on your butt staring at the tube. There is some serious sh*t going down out there in the forest.

There are folks living in the middle of roads on public land. Living there in full defiance of Clinton, Congress, the Forest Service, the sheriffs, loggers and, oh yeah, the Timber Industry. It is going on all over; in the Siskiyou Mountains, in Cascadia and in Cove/Mallard, just to name a few. I think it's a movement.

These folks are not only living on these roads, they are ripping 'em apart, in broad daylight, in front of God and everybody! "Road restoration," they call it. These things seem to be innocent enough at first, with a few logs and rocks tastefully positioned in the path of the beast, but overnight (maybe the moon is to blame?) the left-brained scene is transformed into a primitive technology urge which leads the road down the path toward extinction. Trenches and pits are dug; log piles, pit toilets and log cabins are built; culvert walls and fortresses erected; and all manner of tripods, bipods, draw bridges, gate enclosures and the like crop up everywhere. I hear they even have dragons!

It's like this new kind of imported and compounded science. The tripods are of Australian design; encasing the gates with concrete and building walls are Cascadian tactics; culvert walls and pole piles were originated in the Salmon/Selway region; yarn wrapping is Ecopian; and the graffiti is surely of a more southeastern origin. And, as new techniques get introduced, the movement adds them to its "tool box."

I have a feeling that all this is only the beginning of a new era in "resource management." You know how those West Coast fads are; by the time you read this, the same things may be happening in a forest near you!

Sure, you say, "It's summer, and the kids are just bored." Well, there's some truth in that, but I think Clinton and the Forest Service are in for a big surprise when they try to clear folks out of their way. They might just be confronted by their own grandmas and a hundred folks that feel as strongly as she does about them cutting all the forests down.

Seems to me that the people are sending a message to Clinton: "Bring it on, Bill. This being an election year and all, can you afford to have television images of your boys in



Unretouched, rare photo of a Cascadian dragon

green violently removing peaceful environmentalists who are just trying to uphold the law. Are citizens, who probably voted for you and are now protesting the Salvage Rider you signed into law but now object to, going to reelect you?"

So, go take a look at what is going on in your local forest, but BEWARE, you might just have the urge to stay.

—JIM FLYNN

MISCELLANEOUS

Jake Kreilick, long-time Wild Rockies activist, Native Forest Network co-founder and Idaho rendezvous committee member, has been sentenced to 90 days in the Latah County Jail for supporting Ric Valois on his one-man gate lockdown on the Noble road last year. Send Jake lots on cards and letters, but make sure to address the mail to John Kreilick, c/o Latah County Jail, c/o Latah County Court House, Moscow, ID 83843.

Many thanks to the Idaho rendezvous committee for putting on a fun and memorable event. At the *EF! Journal* annual meeting we informed everyone of our most pressing need here at the *EF!J*: moving the *Journal* operations out of our living room

and into a proper office space. We cannot afford the move at this time, so some serious fundraising needs to be done. Any help, financial or otherwise, that would assist us in the move would be graciously accepted. If there is anyone willing to write grants for us, contact us ASAP. Another way that people can help is to solicit new *EF!J* subscribers.

The Native Forest Council (NFC), uncompromising leaders of the "Zero Cut" campaign, could also use some help in the grant and donation department. NFC has hit on hard times. They have been forced to lay off their entire staff due to insufficient funds to pay them. NFC, authors of *Forest Voice*, is an essential organization in the environmental/political spectrum. Contact the Native Forest Council at POB 2171, Eugene, OR 97402; (541) 688-2600.

The *EF! Journal* staff would like to thank Kimberly Dawn for three years of her life working at the paper. After the last issue, Kimberly left her long-term staff position to pursue a life of leisure with her sweetie out in Livewood. Thanks for all your hard work and all the laughs.

With that said, we would like to announce that Stella will be taking over as our new Merchandise Goddess starting this issue. Additionally, she drew this issue's cover art. Welcome to the family, Stella.

LUGHNASAD

BY PeggySue McRae

Named for the Celtic Sun God Lugh (rhymes with fugue), Lughnasad (rhymes roughly with fugue n' cod or tuna bog) celebrates the season of first fruits and the beginning of grain harvest. The city of London was also named for the Celt God Lugh and was originally called Lugdunum. The harvest feast is also called Lammas (rhymes with Mama's) from the Saxon word Half-Mass meaning Bread Feast.

At harvest the seeds planted in Spring come to fruition and the Earth provides for us from her bounty. For this we owe a debt of gratitude. Lughnasad is a celebration of harvest and also a rite of sacrifice. In Cove/Mallard, in Warner Creek, as in threatened areas the world over, activists are giving their energy and their bodies to defend the last remaining fringes of Earth's undefiled integrity. The Earth sustains us and we must return the favor by making the sacrifices necessary in order to sustain the Earth.

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Submissions are welcomed and should be typed or clearly printed. Send a SASE if you would like them returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via EcoNet. Art or photographs (prints are best) are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. They will be returned if requested.

All submissions are edited for length and clarity. If an article is significantly edited, we will make a reasonable effort to contact the author prior to publication.

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SCHEDULE

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August 31



Diversity Rules!

BY ANNE R. KEY

This past February at the Earth First! activist conference, an energetic earth defender from Austin asked "Is the movement dead...or only sleeping?" He distributed an article that suggested it isn't dead and that we should keep working with the powerful ideals that make up EF!'s strong foundation. While tactics and political ideologies have evolved throughout the years, the basics of biocentrism, direct action, and wilderness preservation have remained. And I think EF! campaigns have only become more uncompromising. Ten years ago, 15 people standing in a road was confrontational. Today, 20 people might stop and board a log truck, or even occupy a road with elaborate blockades.

I think we're also taking responsibility for those of our kind who have been "running fast and goin' blind": owning up to a responsibility to the entire biotic community to oppose and resist our species's consumption of the raw material of life, and our continuous taming of the wild. And we're trying to free our own tamed wilderness too, by becoming part of the circle again, by sitting down at the council fire and making a commitment to live in balance.

I believe the EF! movement is made up of humans committed to all of these ideals, however varied the levels we're working at. I do, however, see how various differences and a few gaping divisions that could be healthy are instead destructive to our movement. I think there's a tendency for some of the more comfortable, established, often older, "career" activists within the grassroots and EF! movement to criticize tactics, philosophies and lifestyles of some of us less career-oriented, more nomadic, dirtier, smellier, more rebellious-spirited, younger "riff-raff". Mitch Friedman is an obvious example of the former tendency, but there are many more within the EF! movement. Some of these folks have decided that more polite, accessible ways of relating to authority and to the mainstream (which are not much different in my eyes) are more "effective" than dreadlocks, piercing, masks etc. To be fair, I do basically understand these

attitudes, but I think a lot of them come from a kind of ageism that causes people who are nearing or at mid-life to look down on the younger, less experienced, more raw factions of the movement as naive and angry and even as detrimental to whatever "public image" of EF! that they are naive enough to think will somehow single-handedly bring the system to its knees.

I can't help but notice that some of these folks are the most financially comfortable and secure among us. And I'm not talking about feeling guilty for having some money. I'm talking about the bourgeois attitudes that infect people who aren't actively trying to deconstruct their class privileges- either from the past or in the present.

Most of us are recovering from middle-class backgrounds and would never choose that life again, but the attitudes that come with it linger. I'm talking about benefiting from the privileges of your class background without even noticing it because the system was designed so that you don't have to.

A lot of us "rank-and-feral vagabonds" on the "front lines" have taken an unofficial vow of poverty, and we revel in it! WE know money is an illusion, status a capitalist creation, and power comes from the earth through us, for the good of all life. We want to live it out, not just talk it up. So our "free states" are also about a free state of mind. This has a lot to do with the way we interact with cops, loggers, and mainstream environmentalists, and maybe our anger is alienating mainstreamers or making them feel uncomfortable, but I think it's good for them to feel uncomfortable with their lifestyles. If some EF!ers want to be polite and acceptable to the mainstream, go for it. Somebody's go to do that, too. But are we really so influential that a handful of riff raff with bad attitudes will completely discredit the direct action movement? If anything,

diverse attitudes will draw a broader range of activists. I wouldn't be here today if it weren't for the rawness and realness of punk rock, luring me away from the sheltered suburban privilege that almost stole my mind and soul!

If mainstreamers avoid basecamps because of kids in masks, maybe they belong at a W.A.L.L. (Witness Against Lawless Logging) rally, and when they've done that for awhile and realize how utterly disempowering it is to hand your freedom over to the Freddies for standing on the wrong side of some imaginary line while old-growth trees crash all around, maybe they'll get a bad attitude too and come fuck shit up with us.

Finally we've stumbled across the ultimate non-violent action: the road occupation! We can make a stand without turning ourselves over to the pigs (sorry, can't resist), making them sweat

and spend their precious budget. The reality is that no protection is permanent right now, whether it's a repealed salvage rider or a Glickman directive or a "free state." They'll go as far as we'll let them to one-up us. The trick is to transform public opinion until we won't let them go any further. In the US, the closest we've come in the to threatening the state's control was the turbulent civil rights and anti-war movements. We are now making progress on the coattails of those struggles, and we are a threat!

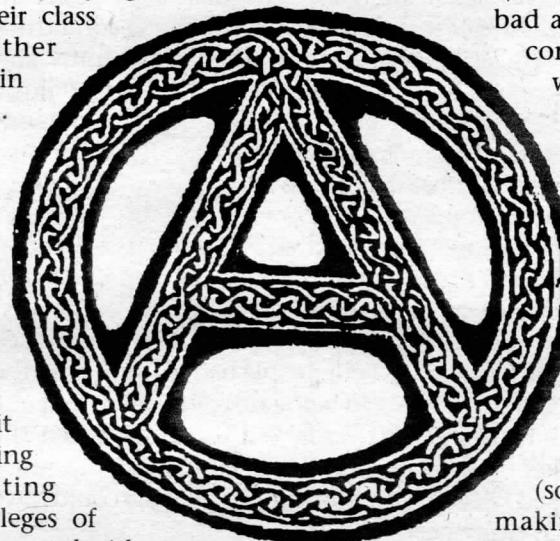
While we're waiting for the big revolution in human consciousness, we are everywhere, creating counter-institutions and working toward community control. We are stealing from their stores, growing our own food, sharing our own local cultures, educating ourselves with real knowledge and skills, taking care of our own bodies, pirating the airwaves, even practicing alternative money systems. And because we believe in the intrinsic rights of all spe-

cies, we are confronting the extractive industrial system and the governmental brown-nosers.

The struggle for wild places is only one part of the picture. The Earth should always be the fundamental consideration, but radicalism is about challenging the roots of a crisis, and the root of this crisis is the nature of modern human society on this planet. Even if every wild and re-wilding chunk of earth were designated a National Parks tomorrow, we know there'd be companies and individuals trying to assert their right to exploit "resources." Only empowered, caring communities of people as part of a broad-based (diverse) popular movement have the collective power to truly oppose those threats in the long term. That's all we can hope for, but can we demand anything less? And can we live our lives with any less far-reaching a vision?

As for transforming the mainstream into a more radical, empowered force, I say let the people who speak their language do it! That's what the Sierra Club, the Pacific Party and Ralph Nader are for. Nobody's "winning" this thing anyway, not even the earth destroyers. Let's face up to it and keep moving.

Loss is inevitable. We're already lost so much, and an end is not yet in sight. But we have to trust that we are fighting a good fight. The earth needs us to stand up and take the blows, because there is no comfy white suburban home for anyone anymore. A life of struggle against monsters doesn't have to mean constant pain and suffering for us. We are only martyrs if we take it like victims. We are surviving, and we're even thriving! And look around us at what empowers us most: swift raging rivers, wizened old trees, the magic of forest succession, lynx, wolf, salmon, and evolution itself. We are a passionate, creative tribe! We sing powerful songs! We have to take all that loss and absorb it and let it fuel us, because that's how we're gonna get through this. We have to be in it together, and every person's work is of value. May there be more of us at every level! More paper monkeywrenchers, more roadfighters, more 'dozerwrenchers. There's no going back now...the battle lines are drawn and we have no choice but to resist.



SHIT-4-BRAINS
yourself in mirrors of misperception and slut to the media and mainstream "marginalizers" contemplating your appearance on camera. You'll slip and fall in those "shiny shoes" and the tie you wear will strangle your cries as the last old growth forests fall. Babylon is falling! Clothing is just for fun and warmth anyway. We're all just NAKED MUD PEOPLE ON CAMERA!

Bearass without a stitch,
—FIRE GRIZZLY

To the People,

In support of the recent article by Avalon, "Does EF! Need a 12 Step?" One step simply placed away from having alcohol at gathering would suffice... and as the author implies, would do more to honor the Earth and her children than any number of actions may ever accomplish. Of course, the changes we make in our own

lives are always the hardest... and the most necessary. Should this idea find agreement and consensus (is this possible?) please publish this announcement so that I can make plans to attend an EF! gathering where clarity of vision strengthens our tribe, and respect honors every relation.

—SHANÚ

Dear SFB,

Avalon is right to suggest that we need to watch out for our friends whose drinking has become a problem. Silence is complicity. However, I take issue with his characterization of the rowdy fires at Rendezvous (that is, the drinking and fire dancing) as being somehow spiritually deficient. If I understand Avalon correctly, proper integration into a sacral landscape requires us to connect to the land and each other in a way that seems surprisingly similar to church on Sunday.

My disagreement with this is that I feel total exuberance is often the highest attainment of spirituality, and that alcohol can facilitate such exuberance. It is no coincidence that booze has for centuries been known as "spirits."

There is a famous Thoreau quote, often misunderstood: "In wildness is the preservation of the world." Thoreau's wildness is not just wilderness, some other-than-human artifact of civilization. The wildness Thoreau spoke of has a lot to do with human spirit, with the unquenchable green fire in our eyes. The wildness generated around an EF! campfire is, at its best, the apogee of such wildness. I hope that never changes.

Deliriously yours,
—CHESTER WOOLAH

Dear Avalon fer Brains
You go vegan, I'll go sober.
—A DAMN SOT

Dear Hell raisers,

While I am in agreement with universal sobriety as an admirable goal, words can scarcely describe my astonishment at Avalon's suggestion in the June *EF! Journal* that Earth Firsters should be intolerant of those who drink beer at wilderness reunions and celebrations. Remember that alcohol is the only important drug that corporate America has not currently succeeded in banning and using as a tool for political harassment. The theory, I suppose, is that drinking beer at EF! reunions is a recent deviation that necessarily equals drunkenness, which in turn implies chronic alcoholism and political ineffectiveness in between such events.

continued on page 30



Dear Crap in the Cranium:

The masturbatory mindcrap clogging your braincase of late is precisely why there aren't more of us two-leggeds OUT THERE defending the Wild, drawing that line of protection at the edge. You're too busy pushing dead-mashed-up-bleached-out-tree-bodies around on desks, grovelling for Pee-you crispy bill\$, intellectualizing a method to the chaotic madness! Madness! plaguing Earth. The machines of death will continue to relentlessly strip, denude, rip and tear Gaia's fabric robes, woven-web-clothing while you examine

Showdown at La Sierra

BY TIM HAUGEN

In the June-July issue of the *Journal*, I reported to you that a coalition of environmentalists, nuns and Chicano farmers had presented a list of demands to the manager of "Taylor Ranch" in San Luis, Colorado, the goal of which was to halt logging on the ranch. The logging threatens a watershed that provides the traditional Chicano farmers with water for their irrigation ditches. Since then, events have snowballed.

Ranch owner Zachary Taylor responded to our demands by filing a SLAPP suit against La Sierra Foundation, one of the coalition members. Taylor is a direct descendant of President Zachary Taylor, also a noted defiler of Mexican culture. I take this as constituting further proof that mental illness can be passed from generation to generation.

In any event, we found Taylor's response to be disrespectful. Therefore, we planned a blockade at the Taylor Ranch gate, used by logging trucks to enter and leave the ranch. Specifically, we sought to enforce truck weight limits passed by the county commissioners, but deemed unenforceable by the county sheriff. We sought to prove otherwise.

We arrived at the gate shortly before 8 am, on June 28. Within minutes, we blocked two trucks: one empty, and one loaded with the corpses of trees. Within an hour, two more trucks were standing idle and the county sheriff was running around, trying to figure out how to handle 40 people who were only trying to do his job.

Someone suggested that we allow the two loaded trucks to pass through the blockade with the stipulation that they be escorted by sheriff's department personnel and representatives of our coalition to a weigh station. Some of us weren't fond of letting the trucks through, but the local members of the coali-

tion are "first among equals." We allowed the two trucks to pass, with their escort. Subsequently, we learned that the weigh station didn't have the scales necessary to handle the large loads carried by the trucks. However, we did establish one very significant fact: The trucks are illegally crossing the state line into New Mexico in order to avoid going through the town of San Luis. The truckers lack the necessary permits to cross state lines.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, our blockade continued.

During a strategy session, we observed two more empty trucks pulling up, so once again, we strung ourselves across the road. The first truck pulled in behind the others and stopped, but the second truck swerved around the line of idled behemoths and approached us. As he pulled within a few feet of the blockade, he seemed to slow down. We put our hands on his fenders and bumper as he nosed into our line. Then he gunned his engine and plowed through us. He never stopped.

One person, Denise Luttrell of Greenpeace-Boulder, was knocked to the ground. She barely managed to roll out of the way, or perhaps was pulled out of the way, before the truck could run her over. The tires missed her head by inches. Four people had to jump onto the truck in order to avoid being run over. They rode the truck for about 100 yards, but bailed off when the trucker pulled a gun on them. Fortunately, Denise's scraped knee was the worst injury. People could have just as easily been killed.

Fortunately, Undersheriff Roger Benton witnessed this incident and chased down the trucker. He subsequently filed charges of felony menacing, attempted



Nonviolent resister removed by sheriffs so that logging could resume in Colorado

vehicular assault, reckless endangerment and four (possibly five) counts of attempted murder.

Meanwhile, our blockade continued, with the result that twenty people were arrested for obstructing the road, including four local Chicanos.

Since then, we have learned that the District Attorney has whittled down the charges against the trucker to felony assault and felony menacing. We still consider these events to constitute a major victory, especially since Undersheriff Benton was outspoken in confirming that our protest was peaceful. We had done nothing to provoke the violence that occurred. We look forward to seeing the trucker, 40-year-old Donald Brown of Del Norte, Colorado, housed safely away in prison.

Soon we'll be going back to La Sierra to show Taylor that we aren't intimidated by his hired guns. Quite literally, hired guns. We've been told by locals that Taylor has hired security people by advertising in *Soldier of Fortune Magazine*.

So c'mon down to San Luis! It'll be a blast!

For information contact Devon Peña, La Sierra Foundation, at (719) 672-3355 or Kirsten Atkins, Ancient Forest Rescue, at (970) 641-7128.

BISON SLAUGHTER IN YELLOWSTONE

BY MICHAEL S. MEASE

Last spring I had the disheartening job of documenting the slaughter of the last free-ranging bison herd in the United States, which roams in Yellowstone National Park. Since last November, 458 bison have been gunned down by the Department of Livestock (DOL), not counting fetuses carried by the pregnant bison who were killed. All because of a hoax.

The bison are being shot based on an unjustified fear of brucellosis infecting Montana's cattle, despite the fact that transmission has only occurred in laboratories and controlled experimental conditions. *There has been no documented transmission of brucellosis in the wild.* Pregnant bison are killed just days before calving. Although male bison cannot transmit the disease, they are also being killed.

I talked with the scientists conducting brucellosis experiments on the pregnant bison and they told me that brucellosis lives for over 250 days in water and that pregnant bison carry the disease. Ten minutes later, these same scientists were conducting their experiments less than 50 feet from the Madison River. Additionally, the DOL occasionally directs the Native Americans involved in the process to gut the supposedly "disease-ridden" bison into the river. I don't think the scientists even heed their own "science."

When Teddy Roosevelt set up the National Park system, he cushioned the parks with national forests to provide wildlife overflow buffer zones. These buffer zones are now being subsidized by the US Forest Service for cattle grazing, even though the cattle compete for forage with the bison. Ironically the majority of the bison shot this year were killed on the very same public lands originally meant to protect them.

Bison once roamed this country by the millions. Little more than a hundred years ago, white settlers slaughtered bison to near extinction and nearly wiped out the Native Americans as well. Ironically, as part of a public relations campaign, the bison meat is

now given to Native Americans who sign up for a "bison lottery." Reservations are notified of the availability of bison meat and the few people who respond are kept on a waiting list from November to June. If their number comes up, they have two days to meet with the DOL.

The DOL shoot the bison and then either have native people come to where the dead bison are or have them wait at the county dump. Once the bison carcasses are delivered, the DOL's job is done and the natives are left to gut, skin, load and haul the butchered bison home. The DOL does not warn the natives doing the butchering about the possibility of con-



Looking for justification, the credibility scavengers close in on the fresh-killed bison.

tracting ungulate fever (the human version of brucellosis) from diseased pregnant female bison. Throughout the process, no one, not the DOL, the Native Americans or the employees of the dump, even pretends to be concerned about brucellosis. That concern is just a hoax.

Some of the dead bison are cut up for the wolf packs reintroduced into Yellowstone. In addition to the problems associated with habituating wolves to hand-outs, wolves are being used as another excuse to kill bison. On June 3 of this year, 17 "diseased" bison were killed for the wolves. After quartering 11 of the

carcasses (a process of extracting the best quarter of the bison) the remaining three-quarters of the 11 bison and six whole bison were thrown in the dump.

A group called the Inter-Tribal Bison Cooperative (ITBC) came up with a very reasonable solution to Montana's "problem" with Yellowstone's bison. They propose to reintroduce bison onto the reservations. In South Dakota, this is already being done. The ITBC approached the Park Service, DOL and other agencies involved to no avail. The only way they can have these wild bison is if the bison are corralled and quarantined for three to five years. This domestication of the last free-ranging bison herd is entirely unacceptable to the ITBC.

A West Yellowstone group called Save Our Bison has been formed in protest. Montana Governor Marc Racicot has received letters and phone calls from local West Yellowstone residents outraged about witnessing the bison slaughter. The Fund for Animals and Cold Mountain, Cold Rivers (CMCR) sent the Governor a video showing him what has taken place this year. To date he has not found this issue worthy of his time and he continues to avoid the subject. This is an election year and the Governor has the power to put this madness to a halt.

Your letters, phone calls and votes can make a difference for the bison. Governor Racicot can be reached at State Capitol, 1301 East 6th Ave., Helena, MT 59620; (406) 444-3111.

The alternatives to this inhumane slaughter of the last free-ranging bison herd could be easily implemented. First, why not accept the Inter-Tribal Bison Cooperative's proposal to restore a huge missing part of Native Americans' culture and bring the bison back on their reservations? Second, all cattle-grazing allotments on national forest lands adjacent to Yellowstone National Park should be put back to their intended use: wildlife buffer zones.

CMCR is currently compiling a video documentary on what took place this year. Funding is tight as always. Any financial contribution is greatly appreciated and tax deductible. Call or write CMCR with questions or for more information at CMCR, POB 7941, Missoula, MT, 59807; (406) 728-0867.

Tongass in Danger

When the dust finally settled over the political battlefield that is the Tongass National Forest, environmentalists stepped back to count the number of attacks launched by Alaska's three-man congressional delegation against the nation's biggest, wettest, wildest national forest. The running count since the November 1994 elections stands at 12—an astonishing 12 pieces of legislation aimed at increasing clearcutting in our last temperate old-growth rainforest.

The good news is that all attempts by Senators Ted Stevens and Frank Murkowski and Congressman Don Young have failed. The bad news is that the dust hasn't really settled. There have been few times when activists were able to relax long enough to walk the woods, catch a few fish, and maybe paddle the kayak a bit. But those moments have been few; the battle to save southeast Alaska's wild places rages on.

Why the bitter battle over this remote, lush, beautiful slice of the world? In the words of a citizen speaking out at a recent public meeting, Forest Service management of the 17-million-acre Tongass is, "A national symbol [of] how not to manage a public resource."

For four decades now, all other users of the Tongass have been forced to take a back seat to the demands of one multinational corporation, Louisiana Pacific, owner of the Ketchikan Pulp Company (KPC). The pulp mill possesses a one-of-kind contract that guarantees it a huge volume of trees—154 million board feet of timber per year—at cut-rate prices. That contract, a Soviet-style make-work project established back in the 1950's, has created a legacy of bitter conflict and stump-filled landscapes.

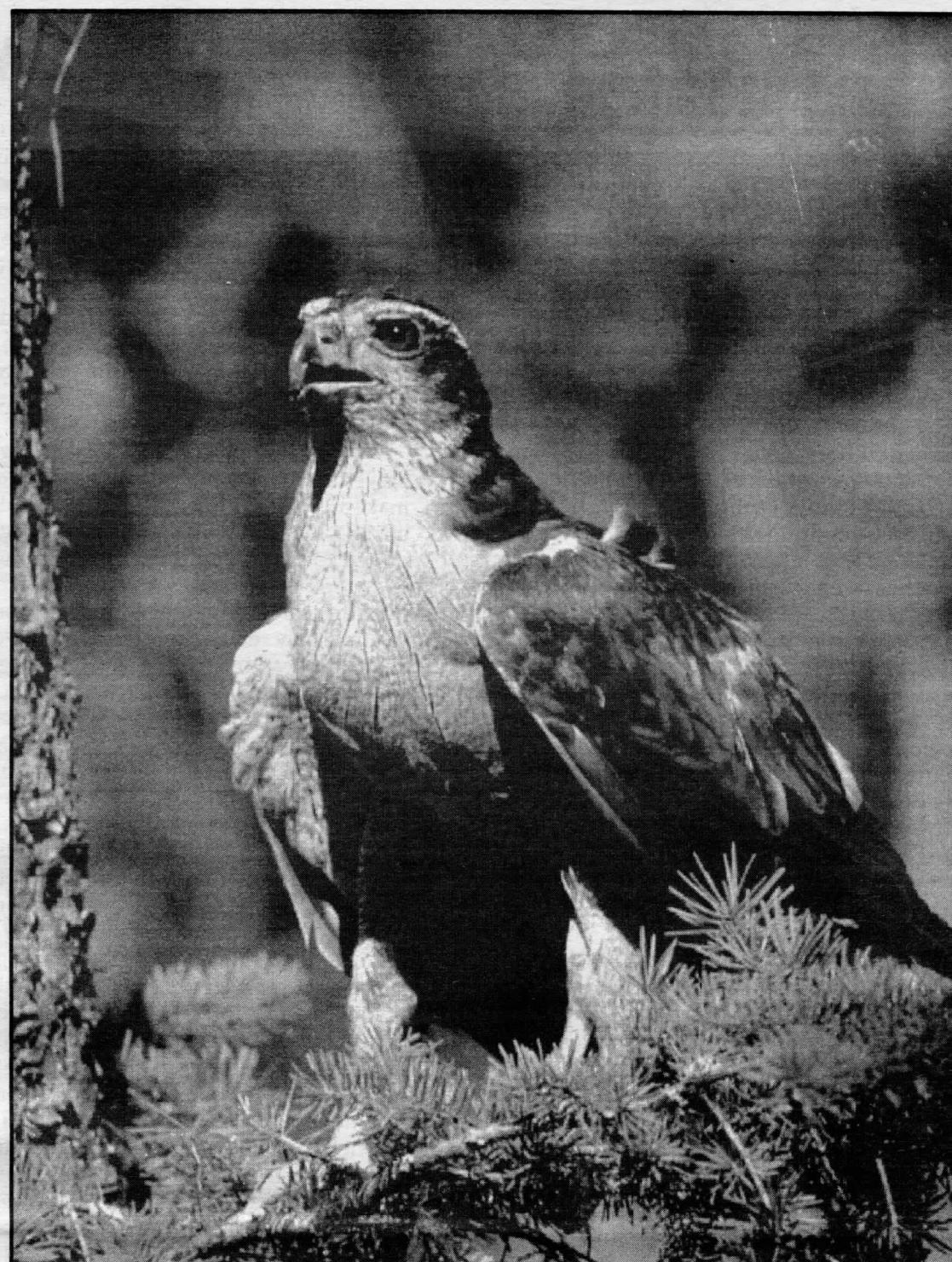
Much of the magnificence remains, however. Southeast Alaska, 80 percent of which falls within the Tongass National Forest, is a place where we can still do things right. This is home to the world's largest concentration of nesting bald eagles, and more brown bears live here than any other place on the planet. The region boasts whales, copious salmon runs, glaciers and mountains, fjords and fog, and of course, trees—towering Sitka spruce, western hemlock and cedar.

This is a forest of islands, ranging in size from tiny, tree-studded atolls to Prince of Wales, the third largest in North America with more than a thousand miles of coastline. Many people here are able to pursue a lifestyle long ago devoured by urbanization in other parts of America. Fishermen live in remote towns like Pelican and Point Baker, accessible only by plane or boat. Alaska's native people and other rural residents continue to pursue a subsistence lifestyle, depending on the forest and the sea for their food. In addition, small independent-minded loggers utilize the Tongass' prized old-growth trees as material to build homes, boats and even musical instruments, instead of grinding it up into pulp, like Louisiana Pacific's mill in Ketchikan.

Over the last few years, the regional economic importance of the KPC's mill has diminished. All told, the timber industry accounts for only about eight percent of the region's employment. Unfortunately, while the industry's economic clout may be diminishing, its political power remains.

All three members of Alaska's congressional delegation have fallen all over themselves to give away more of your forest and your money to run an antiquated pulp mill that has proven itself a terrible corporate citizen. Last year, KPC was fined \$6 million and convicted of a felony violation of the Clean Water Act for intentionally dumping toxic sludge into nearby waters. KPC is also presently under investigation by the Department of Justice for timber theft. This is just scratching the surface; the rap sheet on the mill is a mile long. The mill is operating without an air discharge permit, even though it is emitting dangerous substances such as chloroform and sulfur dioxide at levels exceeding human health standards. In the past the mill has been accused of illegally firing workers, busting unions and allowing unsafe working conditions to exist. In 1984 KPC was also convicted of violating civil antitrust law. A judge found KPC guilty of conspiring with another huge multinational corporation to run dozens of independent timber operators out of business.

To make matters worse, hundreds of thousands of acres of KPC clearcuts have alarmed wildlife biologists. A report issued in 1993 said current management direction on the Tongass will make it impossible to sustain healthy and viable populations of wildlife throughout the forest, a violation of the National Forest Management Act.



The Queen Charlotte Goshawk

photo by Erwin or Peggy Bauer

Logging by KPC also destroys opportunities for subsistence users. Although their right to hunt, fish and gather in customary and traditional fashion is supposed to be protected by federal law, the Forest Service has determined repeatedly that KPC's insatiable desire for Tongass timber takes precedence.

If all this weren't enough to make you want to fight for the Tongass, then consider the fact that you actually pay to keep KPC running. The Tongass timber program is by far the biggest money loser in the National Forest system. According to the General Accounting Office in Washington DC, the Tongass timber program has provided a "negative net return" of \$102 million to the Federal Treasury over the last three years alone.

Despite the huge list of reasons why KPC's long-term contract should be canceled, Murkowski, Stevens and Young are charging ahead. Their latest approach is simply to extend KPC's monopolistic contract. HR 3659 and S 1877 are outrageous pieces of special-interest corporate welfare legislation and the most damaging pieces of legislation ever proposed for the Tongass National Forest.

These bills would guarantee 4.4 billion board feet of timber to KPC—that's a line of football field-sized clearcuts stretching from Juneau, Alaska to Washington DC and back. The bill also virtually guarantees KPC a profit, since the Forest Service would be directed never to charge more for Tongass timber than prices paid by similar facilities in the Pacific Northwest.

While the Alaskan delegation continues to push their bad bills, the Forest Service is plodding along on another important issue, the revision of the Tongass Land Management Plan. This plan serves as the blueprint for how the forest will be managed for at least the next decade. Heavy industry lobbying, including the financing of an anger-filled Wise Use campaign, is pressuring the Forest Service to adopt a plan that doesn't follow the recommendation of agency scientists. Please keep in mind that this magnificent rainforest is yours and you have the right to demand better management.

Comments on the Tongass Land Management Plan revision are due by August 26. Your comments may be addressed to the Tongass Land Management Plan, 8465 Old Dairy Road, Juneau, AK 99801.

Also, write your Senators and tell them to oppose any attempts to raid your forest or your wallet. Senator ___, US Senate, Washington, DC 20510. For more information contact the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council at 419 Sixth St., Juneau, AK 99801; (907) 586-6942; e-mail: SEACC@alaska.net.

FOREST HEALTH AND SALVAGE LOGGING

BY GEORGE WUERTHNER

Senator Larry Craig of Idaho is currently attempting to pass legislation that would promote salvage logging to "restore forest health." Anyone familiar with Craig's biased attitude knows that his real interest lies more with promoting the timber industry than promoting forest ecosystem health. Nevertheless, to the uninformed public, his contention that our forest ecosystems are "unhealthy" appears to have some legitimacy.

According to Craig and other salvage logging supporters, our forests are "overstocked" and "dying" as a consequence of fire suppression policies. Increases in insect outbreaks, disease and large catastrophic fires are all blamed on fire suppression. I might note that scientists dispute the suggestion that there are any real measurable increases in insect outbreaks, disease or even fire intensity, and suggest that such claims may be more imaginary than real. However, just for argument's sake, even if there has been an escalation in these tree mortality factors, that doesn't mean there is a forest health problem. Ecologically speaking, an increased incidence of dying trees is a *normal* response to increased stocking density, as well as other factors like drought. In other words, while trees may be dying, the forest ecosystem is functioning perfectly. To view dead trees as an indication of imbalance is to fail to see the forest for the trees.

Furthermore, though fire suppression has changed the structure, age and species distribution within

forest ecosystems, fuel accumulations seldom influence the occurrence of large blazes. Climatic variables such as severe drought, wind and local weather conditions, not fuels, ultimately control the size and intensity of subsequent blazes. Thus, reduction of fuel may not significantly affect so-called "catastrophic" blazes.

Climatic conditions, more than anything, contributed to the large 1988 Yellowstone fires—and every other large fire in history. Salvage logging won't change the frequency or occurrence of the forest conditions favoring fire.

Even if fuel reduction by salvage logging could prevent large blazes, there is an issue of scale. To make any appreciable difference in landscape-scale blazes—the kinds of fires salvage logging is purported to stop—would require the removal of fuel over tens of millions of acres. The cost of road building, sale layout and administration necessary to effectively remove fuel on this kind of scale has never been addressed. Because salvage logging is supposed to be directed toward removal of the smaller, understory trees, the economic viability of harvesting timber is further reduced. Not surprisingly, congressional studies have demonstrated that nearly all salvage timber sales lose money.

Why should we care if millions of acres of marginal timber burn up or die from insects and disease? Quite simply, most of the economically marketable timber was cut years ago. Aren't we spending a lot of money to protect trees with little timber value?

The other justification given for salvage logging is home-owner protection. Yet constructing a house in most western forests is no different from building a structure in a river floodplain—sooner or later, you're going to lose your property to natural forces. Fighting fires to protect cabins and homes built in the hinterlands is nothing more than a subsidy for the rich. If people wish to build their homes in the forest let them—not the taxpayers—suffer the economic consequences of their decisions. I might add that a reduction in fire fighting might be one of the best ways to stem the spread of subdivisions and sprawl in the rural West.

In addition to the very high economic costs associated with salvage logging, we must keep in mind that logging of any kind is not ecologically value-neutral. There are a lot of ecological impacts associated with timber harvest, including increased road density and access which often negatively affect wildlife, invasion of weeds, removal of down woody debris, loss of snags, and other ecological changes that occur with logging and are not typically associated with fires. Even if we could conceivably log enough acres to make a difference in fuel loading, we would be creating a lot of other ecological problems, many of them far worse than anything associated with large fires.

At best, "strategic" salvage logging can create effective "defensive positions"—for instance, thinning a forest around a town might enable firefighters to deflect a big fire around the community. Such site-specific fuel reductions might have a role to play in community protection schemes. Nevertheless, this is very different from seeking to eliminate all large fires across the landscape.

Finally, one has to question why we need to eliminate or suppress large fires in the first place. From a forest ecosystem viewpoint, large fires are not "abnormal." Ecologically speaking, there is no such thing as a catastrophic fire. Again, it's a matter of scale. Over any hundred-year period, small frequent burns may have

been the norm in some ecosystems such as the ponderosa pine forests that are common in many lower-elevation forests around the West. Yet a careful reading of fire history and other paleobiogeographical evidence suggests that large fires are the norm in nearly all western ecosystems at some time or other. If viewed over a time period of 500 to 1,000 years, nearly all western forest ecosystems, even those characterized by frequent, low-intensity burns, are found to experience large, infrequent, so-called catastrophic fires.

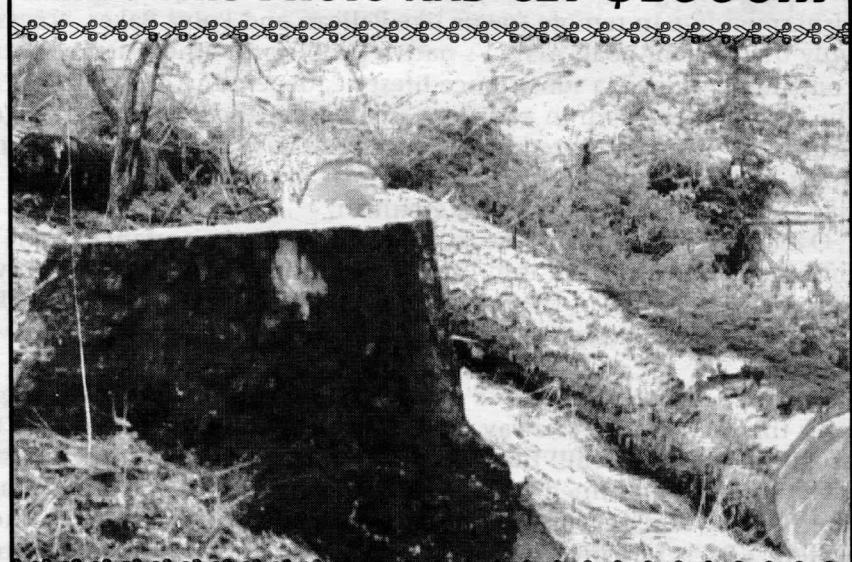
While fire suppression has changed the timing and intensity of fires in some ecosystems, it would be wrong to conclude that large fires are an aberration or beyond the normal range of variability. For example, the 1910 fires that burned 3.5 million acres of northern Idaho and western Montana involved a lot of low-elevation forest that "normally" experienced frequent, low-intensity blazes. Yet the 1910 fires consumed millions of acres of timber long before effective fire suppression could have affected fuel loadings.

Forest ecosystems are not "destroyed" by large fires, only changed. From a landscape-wide perspective, it is clear that a very small number of very large fires account for the majority of acreage burned. Large fires are not abnormal, just rare.

Large fires can "reset" the ecological "clock." One or two large fires will reduce fuel loads across a broad landscape with far less ecological impact than logging, and at a fraction of the cost. If we are truly interested in forest health, not protecting trees as fodder for the timber industry, then a far more sensible plan would involve fuel reductions in a few strategic locations, such as the borders of towns. Salvage logging and prescribed burning would reduce fuel loading while larger fires would be tolerated, even encouraged, throughout the remainder of the landscape.

A truly enlightened forest health policy would advocate a major reduction in timber harvest throughout the West, and the restoration of large fires as an ecological and evolutionary force. Big fires are as necessary for ecosystem health and forest evolution as predators are to the "health" and evolution of prey. To quote the poet Robinson Jeffers: "What but the wolf's tooth whittled so fine, the fleet limbs of the antelope?" Fires are to the forest what the wolf is to the antelope.

MAIL THIS PHOTO AND GET \$1000!!!



Representative Charles Taylor (R-NC), the original cosponsor of the clearcut rider, made an incredible offer on the floor of the House of Representatives. During the debate of the Furse-Porter-Morella amendment to de-fund the infamous salvage rider, Rep. Taylor claimed that no "green" tree had been cut under the timber clearcut rider. He offered \$1000 to anyone who could prove that a green tree had been cut. His exact quote, as taken from the Congressional Record is:

"My colleague who got up a moment ago and said that we had cut green trees in salvage is absolutely misinformed. I will pay \$1000 cash today if anyone can bring me evidence of any green tree that has been cut under the salvage bill." Rep. Taylor specified that trees under the Section 318 sales (older or previously sold sales in the West) do not apply to this offer.

We want to make it easy for you to cash in on Rep. Taylor's offer. Here is a photo of the Reed Salvage sale on the Malheur National Forest, which included innumerable green trees including old growth. Simply mail this photo and coupon to Rep. Taylor, and demand that he pay you \$1000. You can, of course, substitute your own photograph, list of sales, etc. Please send us a copy of your invoice so we can make sure everybody knows that green trees are being cut in your forest. Please also send a letter to the editor of your area newspapers explaining what you have done. Write to Rep. Charles Taylor, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515, or send him a fax at 202-226-6405.

Craig's Savage Logging Plan

Senator Larry Craig's Federal Lands Forest Health Protection and Restoration Act (S. 391), which would expedite salvage logging, continues to wend its way through the legislative process. Under the bill, areas designated "forest health emergency areas" would be open for logging. These areas would be chosen based upon the number of trees purported to be dead, dying, or in danger of dying, and the bill would weaken environmental laws such as the Endangered Species Act in these "emergency" areas in order to facilitate logging the snot out of them.

On June 19, 111 scientists sent a letter to President Clinton asking him to oppose the bill. The scientists' letter, originated by James R. Karr, Professor of Fisheries and Zoology at the University of Washington, warned Clinton that the legislation misconstrues the true threats to forests and is not based on sound science.

The scientists' letter states that dead and dying trees are critical to maintaining forest biodiversity, protecting water quality and controlling pests. "In short," state the scientists, "the real forest health crisis is not the threat from dead and dying trees. The real symptoms of crisis are increased soil erosion, depletion of forest, the decline of harvestable fish," and other problems caused by "overzealous roadbuilding, inappropriate fire suppression, and poorly planned forest management practices."

Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman's directive on salvage logging has apparently stalled negotiations between Republican Senator Craig (ID) and Democratic Senator Bill Bradley (NJ) on a compromise forest health bill. Prior to the announcement of the directive the compromise seemed imminent, to the dismay of conservationists nationwide who had previously considered Bradley a friend of the forest. Since the current Congressional session is nearing an end, however, it appears that forest health legislation will not reach the President's desk during this session.

NEW SALVAGE DIRECTIVE ISSUED THREE SALVAGE SALES PULLED SO FAR!

BY MARTY BERGOFFEN

On July 9, 1996, in response to overwhelming public condemnation of the Salvage Rider, Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman issued a new directive aimed at blunting criticism of salvage logging and the rider. The directive has already had positive effects, in that a number of old-growth salvage sales have been pulled. However, environmentalists can't let this small victory assuage the Forest Service's guilt in ongoing salvage travesties. We must remain steadfast in our demand that the Salvage Rider be repealed immediately and push harder in our demands for zero commercial extraction from public lands.

Glickman's directive is basically an attempt to band-aid the ruptured image of President Clinton with respect to salvage logging. It was issued around the same time as a presidential appeal to Congress to repeal the rider and is aimed at the worst abuses of the broad language of the Rider.

First, the directive attempts to limit incursions into roadless areas by requiring that roadless salvage sales be "imminently susceptible to fire" and giving priority to those sales that minimize the building or reconstruction of roads. Second, it requires that all salvage sales have an identifiable component of diseased, insect infested, dead, damaged or downed trees, or trees imminently susceptible to fire or insect attack. Third, the directive tries to prevent non-salvage sales from going through as salvage if the sale had been withdrawn for environmental concerns. It also defines "trees imminently susceptible to fire" and "insect attack," limiting harvests to those presenting high risk of fire or insect infestation.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the directive concerns the "associated trees" section of the Salvage Rider. (Here, Glickman admits that green trees are being cut under the Salvage Rider. See page 6 to get

\$1000.) This clause has resulted in the loss of thousands of old-growth trees, and the directive requires that any salvage sale subordinate the harvest of associated trees to the harvest of trees that meet the standards of salvage. It also requests that district rangers review their salvage programs for sales with greater than 25 percent "associated trees" to ensure compliance with the directive.

In order to subdue the outspoken criticism of the Salvage Rider, the Forest Service immediately pulled some of the worst old-growth salvage sales. The South Warner sale (19 million board feet) in Oregon and the



The Caraco Cat "salvage" sale and its drag lines through a plantation (old clearcut)

HB sale in New Mexico (10 million board feet) were canceled because they cut into roadless areas, and the Illinois Creek sale in Colorado (4.8 million board feet) was pulled because it had been a non-salvage sale that had previously been withdrawn for environmental concerns, and was re-issued as a salvage sale.

It would be dangerous to let this directive cool our rage over the Salvage Rider. Whatever the outcome of this directive, we can't let our guard down. Also, any of these sales could come back later as regular timber sales, and Congress could also extend the Salvage Rider, or worse. So keep fighting!

Do-It-Yourself Criminal Defense Under The Salvage Rider: Some Possibilities

Following a protest with 28 arrests at the Red-90 Salvage Sale in Linn County, Oregon, an affinity group defended itself in court against criminal trespass charges. Although no verdict has been reached for the majority as yet, some interesting arguments were raised that deserve exposure and discussion.

First, one protester's charges were dismissed because the police failed to follow the correct process in his arrest. This is always a possibility, especially in mass arrests where the police can get sloppy. In this case, they failed to inform the protester of the charges against him in writing. (There were a number of other procedural deficiencies that weren't reached by the court. For example, Freddie couldn't even figure out WHICH closure was violated, number 192 or 194!) However, dismissal by way of procedural defenses fails to promote the reasons for the original arrest: to expose misfeasance and wrongdoing by the Forest Service in its "salvage" program. For this reason, procedural defenses were rejected by the remainder of the Red-90 protesters.

Second, and more substantially, the remaining group argued that the forest closure and the enforcement of that closure were a violation of the First Amendment rights of Free Speech and Assembly. This argument was successful used to gain dismissal of charges for one protester not associated with Red-90. Specifically, the Judge held that the closure was "unconstitutionally overbroad, cover[ed] an excessive area, and burden[ed] more speech than is necessary..." This argument was used by some Red-90 protesters. Others also argued that because they were arrested a full mile from the timber sale, and well outside any then-existing closure, that their arrest was illegal. Although this type of argument has the potential to be fact-specific (i.e. YOU might be arrested in a sale unit, while your friend was arrested on the road a mile away), it attacks the heart of the Forest Service's policy of throwing a closure on any controversial timber sale. We can and should argue that logging on *public* lands is a *public* issue, and the *public* must have the opportunity to observe and protest these activities. Applying closures to prevent public participation is arbitrary and capricious, and only benefits corporations to the detriment of the public at large.

Third, the Red-90 protesters argued that the Salvage Rider violated the Separation of Powers doctrine of the US Constitution. Basically, because the Salvage Rider congressionally released *old* timber sales that had been protected by the courts, Congress overstepped its bounds and usurped the Constitutionally-granted powers of the judiciary. This is also an effective argument, because all too often court decisions are whitewashed and hung out to dry by Congress and state legislatures, resulting in ever-diminishing power for the supposedly politically "neutral" court system.

The Salvage Rider also violates the separation of governmental powers for *new* salvage sales by denying people all rights to seek judicial review for these sales. Without the protection afforded by the right to judicial review, the entire program is unconstitutional because the entire judicial branch of the government has been excluded from the process.

Finally, the protesters have claimed that the Salvage Rider is unconstitutional because it hides its true purpose behind the rhetoric of "salvage," and therefore violates the Public Trust Doctrine. However, this is a slightly weaker argument, because courts are reluctant to override the findings of an elected Congress, as well as reluctant to extend the Public Trust Doctrine to National Forests. Nevertheless, it is important to us as activists to show that *the emperor is wearing no clothes*, and that "salvage" is just another reason to destroy healthy ancient forests.

Of course, it is important to remember in defending oneself in court that the attitude of the judge will be the biggest factor in determining your guilt and ultimate sentence. Always be courteous, even if the judge isn't, but don't be afraid to stick to your guns.

And while you are in court, never forget whom you are representing: the forests, streams, and all their inhabitants.

Victory at Warner Creek!

continued from page 1

rabilia which add to the Warner saga. Others do the daily chores. Welcome to the Cascadia Free State.

It's a name we wear with pride. Like the Wild Rockies Free State and Sucker Creek Free State, it was a controversial image at first. Even longtime forest defenders feared "confusing the issue," associating the struggle against deforestation with the struggle against hierarchy, patriarchy, capitalism, etc. But as we have grown, so has the name.

Through ten months of an active road blockade which has spawned and assisted actions around Oregon, we have come to realize that the issue encompasses more than just the trees. As we gather nightly in the sunset circle, it is obvious that the community at the heart of the Cascadia Free State is inseparable from the trees at the heart of Warner Creek. As the original, accidental, intentional community, we have learned that our ability to organize and relate in new patterns, free from hierarchy, patriarchy and authority, is as critical to our ability to stop logging as the strength of our lockdowns. We are growing a "sense of place," and trying through spirituality, ritual, and knowledge of the land to "reindigenate" to the Salmon and Salt Creek watersheds.

The simple pleasures of wilderness living and basecamp culture sustain the community: chopping potatoes with sunshine on my back, wiping with thimbleberry leaves, shared meals, songs. Long-term land occupation is a new tactic for the movement in the US, and it is one with great promise.

On the other hand, the arena of politics is offering more opportunities to save Warner than ever before. Oregon Congressman Peter DeFazio's office is reportedly working to arrange a buy-back or trade

for the half million board feet which the blockade protects on the north side of Bunchgrass Ridge. Few roadpeckers would agree to trade Warner for forests elsewhere, but there is great irony in having Thomas Creek, the purchaser, be compensated in a debt-for-timber swap relating to their timber-theft indictment. News filters in hourly that the cancellation of Warner North is a reality and our blockade may soon be a historic site with a kiosk. In addition, Secretary of Agriculture Glickman's salvage directive [see article above] applies to the Warner South sale because it is within the Cornpatch inventoried roadless area. Moreover, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals may rule in the coming weeks that Warner is not covered by the Salvage Rider, in which case the suit would go back to Judge Hogan to be judged on the merits of the legal arguments that the FEIS violates NEPA, Option 9, and so on.

In the afterglow of the resounding success which Warner verges on, claims will fly about who is to blame and who deserves credit. Those of us who have lived on the hill know that no matter whose name signs the dotted line, the trees of Warner are standing today because we have been there. We not only delayed the logging, we were the pressure that ultimately forced a resolution. Even if political solutions materialize, we have learned the hard way from the Salvage Rider that legislative victories are precarious. Who would have imagined nearly 11 months ago that the trees of Warner would be standing under the authority of a ragtag group of hippies and punks? The Cascadia Forest Defenders continue to enforce the people's temporary restraining order on government lawlessness and corporate greed. In solidarity with the free states across the Pacific Northwest and beyond, long live Warner Creek!

GREENWASH JUGGERNAUT INVADES MAINE: CLEARCUT INITIATIVE GETTING PRED TO DEATH

BY RON HUBER

The multinational forest eaters are raging in impotent fury as Maine Earth First!, the Maine Greens and an aroused Maine citizenry struggle to cast the taming aura of a ban (yes, BAN!) on clearcutting over the timber beasts via the ballot this November.

Like a silicon-and-steel octopus, the many-tentacled timberbeast and its political puppets are defensively spewing gouts of black propaganda into the Maine noosphere, trying to cloud the minds of the people as they work behind the scenes to undercut the popular will.

You'd think these clowns had learned not to mess with Maine Earth First! by now. But, still groggy from the EF!/Sierra Club/Conservation Law Foundation triple suckerpunch that decked them for trying to build a GATT-port on the wild Maine coast (see *March-April, 1996 Journal*), Maine Governor Angus (Aimless) King and his puppet master Multinazis are mounting a last gasp offensive to try to force GATT-chains onto the Dawn State.

Aimless has tied his political fortunes to aiding and abetting Big... Everything! He's never met a forest-killing, water-polluting, land-abusing or freedom-shrinking corporation that he didn't like, at least those smart enough to donate to his re-election fund.

But because Earth First! and the eco-yups have checkmated about every one of his dark designs to benefit big biz on the necks of Wild Maine lately, the King's sweating buckets over the prospect of another loss—of becoming just another one-term chump, abandoned by the money masters for not delivering natural Maine up to them.

No, Aimless ain't into that.. He'll do *anything* to stay in the good graces of the timber beasts, who are slobbering with fear over the prospect of actually being *regulated* in Maine. Its up to you and I, compadres, to keep the little weasel from succeeding. (Apologies to genus *Mustela* for such a rude comparison.)

The vast interior forests known as the Maine Woods have been brutally battered by International Paper, Champion International, Bowater, Georgia Pacific, Boise Cascade and their kin, especially since the Reagan/Watt infection of the early/mid 1980s.

The first massive clearcutting and murder of the Maine Woods' spruce/fir/hemlock and oak/maple forested plateaus and mountains is recorded in American legend as the start of Paul Bunyan's killing spree across the North Woods, a century or more ago. Their hunger unslakeable, Bunyan's evil spawn have now returned to the East, driving fellerbunchers instead of blue oxen in a merciless swath from Alabama to Maine. And once again, our duly elected leaders are gleefully selling out their homelands for a fistful of unholy silver.

In the wake of the shocking (to them) ease with which the Maine Greens got the 52,000-plus signatures needed to put the ban on the ballot, Big Chip has hired San Francisco-based initiative crusher Winner, Wagner, Mendaback (WWM) to carry out a no-holds-barred disinformation campaign.

The Waggies are using the same emotion-charged, fact-free approach they used in Maine a few years back to try (unsuccessfully!) to ram through a measure widening the Maine Turnpike for the greater ease of the timber trade. Like their earlier spew, their current "Fear the Greens, Fear the Ban" media offensive has been short on facts and long on divisiveness.

And, so far, *highly successful*. Drenching all newspapers, radio and television in Maine with a 60-day hate speech PR barrage, WWM's social engineers have managed to drive the Ban's poll numbers from 70 percent approval down to 30 percent; even "progressive" Mainers are asking themselves, "Hey, maybe sparing the Maine Woods from the rapacious scumbags isn't such a great idea after all," (fade to warm fuzzy blur over jobs, to black).

Knowing that they could not find fault with the

initiative, which simply brings local control of the Maine Woods back to the citizens of Maine after 100 years of absentee landlords, WWM decided to stick to fearmongering. "Dangerous," "deceptive," "drastic," "devastate" and "damage" are the words that WWM researchers decided they would substitute for "facts." No refutation of a single clause of the citizen's initiative would be attempted, as none was possible.

But WWM, through their cookie-cutter imitation grassroots group, Citizens for a Healthy Forest & Economy (CHFE), has no interest in facts, only in winning for their clients. Like other imitation citizen's groups, CHFE has no meetings, asks no help of their "coalition" members but their names and affiliations, and presumably got its sudden "10,000" members by purchasing membership lists from paper corp sympathizer organizations, as is common in their racket.

Winner, Wagner, Mendaback has also been busy rounding up buyable forestry academics to further their disinformation. One of their most laughable efforts has been the hiring of retired Yale forestry professor David Smith, to attack the ban publicly. Smith's textbook *The Practice of Silviculture* has been "used worldwide since the 60's," according to the WWM PR flacks, who sought to use this as evidence of his credibility.

But Smith is therefore responsible for the terrible overcutting that has ruined forest ecosystems around the nation and around the globe. Cutover, bleeding Montana, the vanishing hardwood forests of Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia, the brutalized

rainforests of Brazil, the destruction of old-growth forests of Oregon and Washington are all the fruits of Professor Smith's teachings. If there were an International Environmental War Crimes Tribunal, there would be warrants for Professor Smith's arrest at all national borders. Hardly a credible critic!

The Governor and the Clearcutters have also eunched Maine's biggest, plumpest eco-yuppie outfit, Natural Resources Council of Maine and Maine Audubon Society, into embracing an industry-generated "alternative" to the ban and reform. No one knows what size the bribes were, but both groups are hailing the proposed (voluntary) restrictions and "self audits" that the paper companies have advanced as the painless, meaningless alternative to the real defanging of the rapacious timberswine that the ban will carry out. Happily, Sierra Club's Maine Chapter has joined Earth First! and the Maine Greens in support of the ban on clearcutting, proving that not all mainstreamers are created equal.

So, the beat goes on, day by day, punch by counterpunch, to some strange crescendo this November on election day...

What you can do: Come join the battle. All kinds of strategizin', organizin', demonstratin' and fundrasisin' are needed. You know the drill... If ya can't get to Maine, send yer ideas, soundbites and factoids on the forest rapers' antics in other parts of the country, interesting direct action tactics and, of course, all your money to us. Yup, cash in your stocks and CDs, stick it in an envelope and mail it to Maine Earth First!, RR2 Box 370, Verona Island, Maine 04416; (207) 469-2552.

Clayoquot Clearcut for Phone Books

May 2, two protesters from Rainforest Action Network and Greenpeace risked their lives to get this message out to the public in San Francisco. It's simple: Stop clearcutting ancient rainforest to make phone books.

Pacific Bell prints its phone books on paper made from old-growth trees. A spokesman for MacMillan Bloedel, PacBell's paper supplier, recently told the *Vancouver Sun*, "all pulp and paper from BC's coasts are made from old growth. Eighty-five percent of the trees MacMillan Bloedel cuts are old growth."

For nearly three years environmentalists, recycling organizations, Hollywood stars and local governments have asked PacBell to stop using old-growth rainforest pulp to print throw-away phone books. Tens of thousands of PacBell customers have also contacted the company asking for change.

PacBell purchases about 29,000 tons of paper each year from MacMillan Bloedel, the biggest clearcutter of British Columbia's ancient forests and the main company logging Clayoquot Sound, a 650,000-acre temperate rainforest on the west side of Vancouver Island and one of North America's last intact tracts of temperate rainforest.

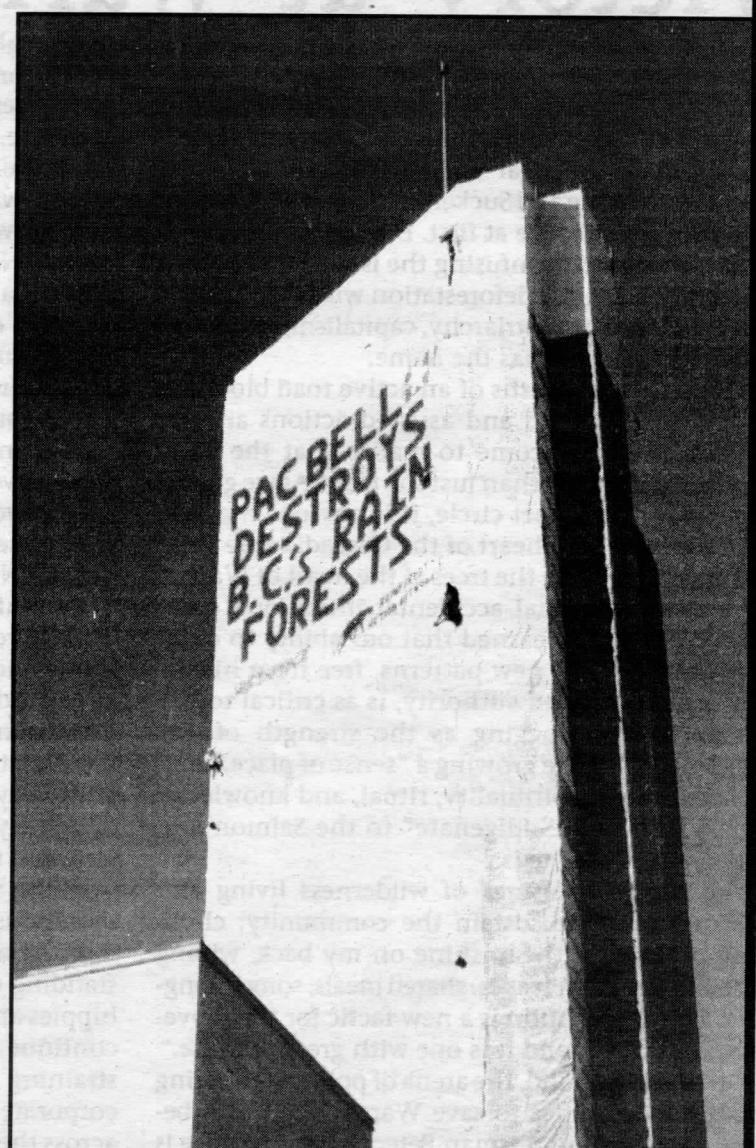


photo by Marlene Hershman

Bivalves Eat Pesticides in ME and VA

From coast to coast, our double-shelled friends are having a rough go of it. A century or more ago, your average clam, oyster, scallop, quahog or mussel could expect a long and happy life, sucking chow from the water and blowing eggs 'n' sperm at each other at regular intervals, for 50 years or more.

It was a good life, sowing yer wild oats as zooplankton for a while and then settling down into the sweet gooey mud, or onto something solid and rocky, if that was yer karma. Sure, ya might get munched by a lobster or seagull or toadfish, but hey, c'est la web...

But now, those damn humans are not only disappearing as many of these bottom dwellers as they can, but they're poisoning them, too! Millions are feared dead as industrial tomato interests engage in chemical warfare to "cleanse" Virginia's eastern shore of all things wild, hoping to transform the peninsula into a vast tomato plantation.

The tomato barons employ "plastic-culture" by covering mile-long, drip-irrigated raised beds with plastic sheeting, insert tomato seedlings. Then they drench the whole mess with pesticides up to 28 times per season. The tomato barons call their methods "the best way, the most ecological of any," according to the *Washington Post*. All

that plastic causes rain to zip right off the fields and into the estuaries, carrying a deadly load of esfenvalerate, azinphosmethyl, endosulfan and other yuck into the water. Nasty, nasty stuff!

Lemme tell ya, suck some of that stuff up your snout and you ain't long for this world. Plus, all the baby clams croak, along with the little bitty plankton critters that support the whole living ball of wax. Dead.

What's worse, the tomato fields are graded to shed water quickly. Megatons of topsoil get washed off the fields from all that bare soil between the sheets of plastic.

Mark Luckenbach, director of the Eastern Shore laboratory of the Virginia Institute of Marine Science, told the press, "We can't even wait until we get funding to study this. It's just attracting too much attention." When the eggheads are riled, you know that there's gotta be a problem. So all you Virginians reading this here story, break out your pencils and paper and tell your elected representatives to do something.

If you just bellyache enough, they'll probably do something. Tell 'em it's killing the shrimp, crabs and oysters, and if they don't do something about it, you'll hold them responsible this November.

This herbicide and pesticide intensive industry is killing the clams of eastern Maine. First, they start off by clearcutting forests. Then they turn 'em into mile upon square mile of blueberry barrens. Next, to keep the native species from reclaiming their shattered homes, they apply heavy doses of broad spectrum herbicides and other noxious chemicals. Then it rains, and all that toxic crap gets washed down to the sea. The immediate result is that the clam's eggs and sperm get all screwed up.

Soon you start finding clams with double snouts, twisted livers and other mutations. Eventually, there ain't no clams at all. As time passes, the toxic junk gets buried under the gradual accumulation of fresh silt, so whenever clams do make it to adulthood and burrow deeper into the mud, they run into this buried poison and die anyway. The following year, they spray more poison on more "wild" blueberry fields. Then....ARRGH! There's only one thing we can do, and that's to stop the bastards from spraying poison on the blueberries. How?

First off, boycott "wild" blueberries and tell your grocer why. "Wild blueberries," unless marked organic, are still full of pesticides, both on the skin and in the flesh.

Next, write or call Pillsbury, General Mills or any of the food companies that put so-called "wild blueberries" in their pancake mixes and cereals. They're ALL pesticide rich, and many a clam has died to bring you those poisonous blue blobs. Tell them you're not gonna buy their products unless they start using organic berries. The addresses and 800 numbers are on the boxes. (No! don't buy the stuff, read it in the grocery store and write it down!)

Meanwhile, Maine's clamhuggers are hatching plans to put an end to the use of herbicides on blueberry fields, including gathering signatures to put a BAN on aerial spraying on the next year's Maine ballot. Our signature-gathering drive was successful in getting a ban on clearcutting onto the ballot for this November's vote. Onward! While this vital shred of participative democracy yet exists.

Volunteers and \$\$ needed. If ya wanna get involved, call or write to C.L.E.A.N. (Coalition for a Livable Environment in Alliance with Nature), POB 186, Jonesboro ME 04648; (207)434-6228. Nancy Oden, Maine's toughest, meanest, citizen anti-pesticide activist, who's running that outfit, will put you and/or your \$\$ to good use.

—MAINE COASTWATCH!



ESA Moratorium Lifted? Don't Bet the Farm On It!

BY MARTY BERGOFFEN

The ESA moratorium started April 10, 1995 when Congress rescinded \$1.5 million and ordered the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) to halt all work on listing endangered species and designating critical habitat. This incomprehensible swipe at biodiversity protection left 243 species in limbo. Congressional Republicans had hoped to use the moratorium to pressure the Clinton Administration to sign a bill revising and weakening the law. They were forced to drop this strategy in the face of an intense public opinion backlash against attacks on our environmental laws. After repeated budget fights through April 1996, the moratorium seemed to be lifted when President Clinton signed an Omnibus Spending Bill that took effect on April 26. However, for the time being, Clinton's slippery cronies at FWS have avoided taking any real action. They "prioritize" actions such that most species are put on the back burner until neglect forces them to extinction.

Setting up the public for a massive greenwashing within days of the moratorium's being lifted, FWS published two decisions in the Federal Register designed to placate environmentalists into believing that the ESA was again in full force. Two western species, the marbled murrelet and the red-legged frog, were granted ESA protection. The red-legged frog was listed as threatened on May 23, 1996, and the marbled murrelet had critical habitat designated on May 24.

In 1865, when Mark Twain made the red-legged frog famous in his story, "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," they were common along riverbeds and the banks of coastal creeks. Their habitat ranged from Baja California to Marin County and as far inland as Redding. In the late 1800s, as many as 80,000 red-legged frogs a year were harvested to supply restaurants with frog-legs. As red-legged numbers declined, bullfrogs were imported to supply the market. The non-native bullfrogs, however, further threatened the red-legged frogs by eating their eggs. Due to diminishing habitat and threats from pesticide use, today only three populations of red-legged frogs boast more than 350 adults. Although the

"threatened" listing is considerably late and should probably be "endangered," hopefully this action will provide sufficient protection to ensure the survival of the red-legged frog.

On May 24, in response to a three-year-old federal court order, the FWS also designated critical habitat in California, Oregon and Washington for the threatened marbled murrelet. The vast majority of the designated lands already have limited protection under the Northwest Forest Plan, but 865,000 acres of state and private timberlands will receive stronger protection because of the critical habitat designation. Just over one percent of the critical habitat—about 48,000 acres—is privately owned and was the subject of an irascible California congressional delegation's failed attempt to exclude it from ESA protection. The FWS indicated it only included private lands that have the greatest value to murrelets, and emphasized that none of the lands open to logging under the Northwest Forest Plan have been made part of designated habitat. A total of 248 out of 1,161 (over 20 percent) documented forest stands where the murrelets are known to nest were not included within the critical habitat, leaving many known pairs of nesting murrelets at the mercy of Federal land managers eager to cut down ancient forests.

However, the Wily Waffly President Clinton has found a way to keep ESA listings under wraps, at least until after the election.

While FWS was seemingly enforcing the ESA with renewed vigor, it was actually pulling the old bait-and-switch pull-the-wool-over-your-eyes by shutting down the rest of its ESA enforcement program. A three-tiered priority system appeared in the Federal Register, first as a proposal then as a final policy (for full text, see 61 Fed. Reg. 24722, May 16, 1996). The system relegates proposed listings and critical habitat designations to lowest priority by requiring FWS to finish all pending final listings first.

More specifically, the first tier of the priority system is

emergency listings. These consist of species that are in imminent danger of extinction. The second tier consists of final decisions on proposed listings. The FWS is requiring that all work on final listings be completed before taking on the tasks in the third tier, which includes all other listing actions: reclassification, delisting, new proposed listings, 90-day findings, and critical habitat designation.

This priority system is flawed in a number of ways. First and foremost, by putting the majority of decisions to be made at a lower priority, FWS is setting itself up for a huge backlog in the future. By the time the first two tiers are completed, which will probably take years, the species and habitat in the third tier will have suffered accelerating losses and could face extinction.

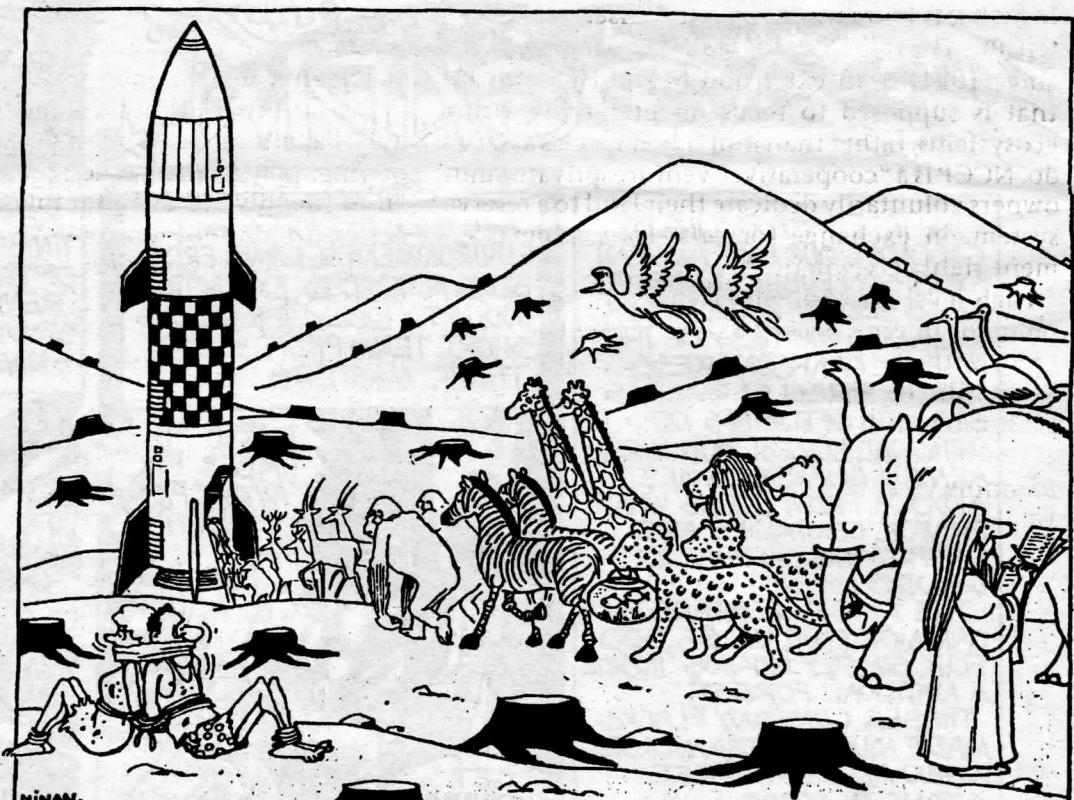
Moreover, nothing in the ESA suggests that any single part of the process is more important. By placing final listings above habitat protection and proposed listings, FWS is creating a false hierarchy of protection efforts. In fact, the ESA itself states that critical habitat is to be designated *at the time of listing*, except in extraordinary circumstances. Habitat destruction is by far the biggest threat to endangered species, and the FWS argument that habitat protection is a lower priority is a

pathetic attempt to uphold Clinton's de facto policy of not making critical habitat designations unless litigation forces FWS is forced to do.

What's worse, the interim policy has a special section devoted to screwing species currently under litigation. This section was put in because the Fish and Wildlife Service is very aware that the courts are the only real path to species protection. The policy states that no species currently under litigation will be assigned a priority category for listing as threatened or endangered. In other words, the FWS won't list a species or designate critical habitat unless ordered to do so by a federal judge.

Obviously, Clinton is again trying to play both sides of the coin, pandering to both beltway environmentalists and earth-raping corporations. This double-edged sword leaves a large percentage of imperiled species unprotected, and it is up to the grassroots to unravel this mess and ensure full protection for all species, not just the all-consuming hairless bipeds.

So get out there in the field, forest or ocean and find the species in your ecosystems that are imperiled. Get help from a local scientist or biodiversity activist. Write an ESA petition, and be prepared to follow up when the FWS invariably denies your petition.



ESA REAUTHORIZATION DEAD AGAIN: ENHA LIVES ON

BY MARTY BERGOFFEN

The Endangered Species Act (ESA) has been due for reauthorization and amendment since 1991, but its lackluster backers in Congress have yet to find the political will to undertake such a controversial task. On the other hand, the good news is that ESA-bashers like Richard Pombo (R-CA) and Don Young (R-AK) have had their noses bloodied in attempting to repeal or gut the ESA. ESA reauthorization efforts are dead again this year.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich has put on hold efforts to reform the Endangered Species Act (ESA) because "Republicans don't have enough votes to rewrite the [Act] partly because environmentalists have painted critics of the law as extremists." In a June speech to 400 members of the Alliance for America, Gingrich told loggers, ranchers, and miners they must be patient and build broader support among suburban Republican members of Congress to weaken environmental regulations and beef up private property rights. Gingrich said advocates of

a weakened ESA have been outmaneuvered by national environmental organizations and the Clinton administration, which "has made a calculated decision to use the environment as a political tool with no regard for the facts." Gingrich suggested that the key to passing legislation to gut the ESA will be the ability of western and rural Republicans to sway more moderate GOP members from the East Coast, such as James Saxton of New Jersey (see below). Richard Pombo, who has lead the effort to gut the ESA, said he still hopes to pass a bill this year.

Representative Saxton has also ended his efforts to introduce a compromise ESA bill. Earlier this year, he conducted meetings with industries such as Georgia Pacific and certain "environmental" groups in order to draft a bill acceptable to both sides; this led to a massive rupture among the Endangered Species Coalition (EDC) and the ejection of Environmental Defense Fund and others from the ESC (see Beltane 1996, *Journal* for details). Still, Saxton, like Gingrich, has seen the political writing on the wall and realized that pushing an

ESA bill in such a hotly contested election year could spell political suicide. So while there will be no "compromise" on the ESA this year, Saxton has promised to release a "working draft" of the measure in a few weeks and assemble a post-election forum to discuss the proposal.

Meanwhile, the ESC continues to assemble support for its Endangered Natural Heritage Act (ENHA), the most hopeful ESA bill yet (also described in detail in Beltane 1996). With the endorsement of over 200 environmental groups and coalitions, ENHA has gathered a huge amount of grassroots support, which is proving extremely hard for Beltway enviros and politicos to ignore. While nothing will happen with ENHA this year, continued support and the drafting of legislative language gives the bill a strong foundation for next year's undoubtedly ugly fight over ESA reauthorization. Given the recent turmoil in Washington, DC, anything is possible, including maybe even passing ENHA or something like it.

Marty Bergoffen is an out-of-work lawyer currently passing time in Thailand.

Southern California Charts Course for Species Extinction

BY CRAIG BENEVILLE

"I'm... hopeful that this effort will equip our entire nation to deal more effectively and sensibly with two conflicting goals, species preservation and economic development." This is from Donald Bren, chairman of the Irvine Company, the development leviathan which owns a full 20 percent of Orange County's land base. The occasion of this grandiose statement was the July 17 signing ceremony of the first reserve system under the Natural Communities Conservation Planning Act (NCCP).

Few people outside of southern California are familiar with the NCCP program, yet, as Bren indicates, NCCP is being touted by both industry and the Clinton Administration as the future of the Endangered Species Act (ESA). Regrettably, a few mainstream environmental groups are also endorsing the program, over the strenuous objections of grassroots activists.

Under the ESA, two basic provisions allow exemptions from its regulations. If the project in question includes federal involvement, one can obtain an exemption under Section 7 of the act. Private landholders, however, are largely excluded from such rulings. Instead, they apply for exemptions under Section 10(a) of the act, by creating what is known as a Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP). The NCCP program, law in California since 1991, is an extension of the HCP process that is supposed to focus on preserving entire ecosystems, rather than individual species as HCPs do. NCCP is a "cooperative" venture; private landowners voluntarily dedicate their land to a reserve system, in exchange for *carte blanche* development rights elsewhere.

High-level government officials, including Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt, signed the agreement with the Irvine Co., creating a 37,000-acre reserve in central and coastal Orange County, California. This is the first of 12 such reserves currently being planned—the largest conservation planning venture ever undertaken in the US. Irvine Co. lands make up 21,000 acres of this total; the rest of the reserve is comprised mostly of national forest and state and county parks.

Although the plan sounds good on the surface, even a cursory look at its inner components reveals that it will severely threaten southern California's endangered habitats. The final reserve plan "preserves" only 55 percent of the area's coastal sage scrub ecosystem, habitat for the threatened California gnatcatcher. Even this habitat is not sacrosanct under the plan; the reserve allows roadbuilding, golf course construction, building of hiking and equestrian trails, mining, landfill operations and, on 10,000 acres of Irvine Co. land, cattle grazing for the next 25 years.

A third of the reserve is on public lands. In effect, the reserve is a public lands mitigation bank for private developers. Over 8,300 acres of these public lands are in county parks, which Orange County recently mortgaged to pay off its bankruptcy debts; their future as viable habitat reserves is tenuous at best.

The Irvine Co. holdings which make up most of the rest of the reserve consist largely of undevelopable cliff faces and lands previously set aside as mitigation for previous developments. In fact, 85 percent of the Irvine Co. lands in the reserve system were already designated "open space" at the time of the NCCP program's inception. It is a sad testimony that conservationists were only able to wheedle 3,000 acres from the Irvine Co., which gained unfettered development rights to over 60,000 acres of land in exchange—less than one acre preserved for every 20 developed.

It is even more disgusting that these same conservationists are now claiming victory, and promoting the program as a solution to the attack on the ESA by property rights fanatics.

Experienced Endangered Species Act (ESA) litigators, such as Jasper Carlton of the Biodiversity Legal Foundation, condemn the plan. "The Clinton Administration [a key backer of the NCCP program] is systematically pulling the teeth of the ESA tiger," Carlton said. He is dismayed at the large-scale habitat destruction the NCCP plan and other HCP plans permit, destruction that undermines

the recovery of threatened and endangered species. "Recovery is the crux of the Endangered Species Act," Carlton said. "These plans are nothing more than a license for industrial landowners to drive species to extinction."

One of the nastiest provisions of the NCCP plan is the "No Surprises" clause. Under this policy, once a landowner signs a conservation agreement s/he is exempt from ESA regulations. This exemption holds even if future research de-

termines that the plan is wholly inadequate to protect the intended species. Research could find that a hundred species would go extinct because of the plan and yet the only recourse the Fish and Wildlife Service has under "No Surprises" is to offer a buyout or ask the landowner to amend the plan. The odds of either happening are extremely slim.

"No Surprises" is not unique to the NCCP process. Babbitt initiated it last year, along with a raft of other policy changes designed to make the ESA "user friendly" (that is, toothless). All new HCPs are incorporating the policy, which has been roundly condemned by the scientific community. Conservationists, led by the Spirit of the Sage Council and the Biodiversity Legal Foundation, have filed notice of intent to sue over the "No Surprises" policy.

Babbitt has touted the NCCP program for the last few years as a "model" for the future of the ESA. He emphasized this theme at the opening ceremony. "I think it did take a miracle to get us all here," Babbitt told the gathering. "This really does amount to an entirely new chapter in conservation history."

Babbitt is not alone in this view. National environmental groups such as the Environmental Defense Fund, World Wildlife Fund and the Nature Conservancy (which as the appointed manager of the Irvine Co. reserve lands has a monetary interest in the plan) have praised NCCP, and support ESA reauthorization legislation modelled after it. This legislation, sponsored by Congressman James Saxton (R-NJ), prompted a letter from internation-

ally known conservation biologist Dr Michael Soulé excoriating both HCPs and NCCP.

In the letter Soulé said, "[T]he credibility of... Habitat Conservation Plans and... NCCP is rapidly slipping, particularly among biologists... [NCCPs] are developer driven, not science driven. Independent scientific review has been dismissed, there is a lack of monitoring and enforcement of agreements, developers end up (effectively) being in charge of zoning changes, and they dictate the prices to be paid by jurisdictions for the proposed protected areas... In summary, NCCPs are being recognized as a mixed blessing at best, and as harmful to biodiversity at worst, and probably as a rule. If the existence of these new land-use mechanisms helps to justify a weakening of the ESA, then we will have a disaster for biodiversity, indeed."

Particularly nauseating is the role of local conservationists in propping up the NCCP plan. The excruciatingly moderate Endangered Habitats League (EHL), propped up by large grants from the World Wildlife Fund, and the Laguna Greenbelt have been the most visible environmental collaborators in the plan. Dan Silver, head of the EHL, was at the opening ceremony. He stated, "The main message is that the Endangered Species Act works. It was flexible. It allowed people to reach consensus."

The immediate question that comes to mind is, "It allowed whom to reach consensus?" Certainly not Leeona Klippstein of the Spirit of the Sage Council, or Gordon Ruser of the Sierra Club or Jean Jenkins of the Audubon Society or any number of other local conservationists who oppose the plan.

The Endangered Habitats League's involvement in the NCCP process is strangely reminiscent of the advice of Ronald Duchin, senior vice-president of the public relations firm Mongoven, Biscoe and Duchin. As quoted in *Toxic Sludge is Good for You! Lies Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry* by John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton, Duchin explained how his firm works to divide and conquer activist movements. "[There is] a three-step strategy: (1) isolate the radicals; (2) 'cultivate' the idealists and 'educate' them into becoming realists; then (3) co-opt the realists into agreeing with industry."

As Stauber and Rampton explain, "Since at least the days of Aristotle, practitioners of the art of rhetoric have understood that an endorsement from their opponent carries more persuasive power than anything they can say themselves." And so it is that the EHL, with the help of some of the nation's largest environmental groups, is approving industry's destruction of the Endangered Species Act, and marginalizing those groups and individuals who have the forthrightness to honor the biological bottom line of our imperiled native wildlife.

For more information, to get involved or to send copious amounts of much needed cash, contact the Spirit of the Sage Council at POB 77027-102, Pasadena, CA 91107; (310) 946-9463.

Highway 162 Derailed!

BY RANDY GHENT

Rank-and-file environmentalists were pissed that California's Mendocino National Forest would get a big, bad road through it, a revamped Highway 162. Why the road? Ostensibly it was for transportation convenience and to promote economic revitalization through tourism. Seasoned activists believe it was really to allow the bulldozing, asphalt-spewing juggernaut known as the California Department of Transportation (CalTrance) to justify its budget and enable trucks to haul corporate junk food between Interstate 5 and Highway 101.

The good news is that the proposal to pave and upgrade Highway 162 was stopped, thanks in large part to the work of local activists. Anti-162 activist Corey Miller learned from anonymous

sources in Caltrans that the over two dozen well-reasoned, articulate letters from around the country, largely generated by Arcata's Alliance for a Paving Moratorium, presented Caltrans with the problem of "environmental opposition."

The agency instead parlayed Highway 162's funds to southern California for a road in Twenty-Nine Palms. Who said, "All our victories are temporary and our losses are permanent"? Shifting road-project funds attest to the need for statewide moratoriums on new roads in every state.

Aside from the general environmental problems posed by roads, Highway 162 would have fragmented old-growth habitat, required extensive logging, and contributed to erosion, sedimentation and pollution of the Middle Fork Eel River, Black Butte River and Cold Creek.



The California gnatcatcher is threatened with extinction due to rampant overdevelopment

CLINTON FIDDLES WHILE REDWOODS FALL

BY HUGH MOROSE

On July 8, Pacific Lumber Company began felling ancient redwoods near Owl Creek Grove in Headwaters Forest. Their plan, commonly called "580," calls for clearcutting 135 acres of residual old growth. One of the clearcut units directly adjoins the unlogged portion of Owl Creek protected by a permanent injunction obtained by the Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC) in 1995. With lightning speed, Pacific Lumber (PL) has already devastated almost all of the units except the area where logging is not currently allowed because it is marbled murrelet breeding season. After breeding season ends on September 15, loggers will be cutting right up to the edge of the pristine forest.

Our experience with 580 alerts us to some of the pitfalls associated with relying on a corrupt political process and an easily manipulated legal system for temporary forest protection. Under California law, Timber Harvest Plans (THPs) are subject to public comment during the approval process. Although public comments almost never result in a rejection of the proposed plan by the California Department of Forestry (CDF), they are entered into the official "administrative record" and provide citizens "standing" in any possible lawsuit. Several organizations in northern California have sent a stream of public comments to CDF concerning 580, and a number of groups considered filing a lawsuit. However, winning such a suit seemed extremely unlikely, and the organizations which pursue this kind of forest litigation were already overloaded.

EPIC's legal strategists finally came up with a stopgap measure, combining a request for a preliminary injunction against 580 with seven other THPs to make a larger federal case concerning PL's Headwaters salvage exemption. This request centered on the alleged inadequacy of PL's Northern Spotted Owl Management Plan, and the court agreed to grant the preliminary injunction. For a few months, 580 seemed at least temporarily thwarted, and activists' energy was redirected toward negotiations with the Clinton Administration concerning acquisition of the entire Headwaters Forest.

In May, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals dealt a severe blow to EPIC's exemption case, reversing a preliminary injunction against salvage operations and remanding the case to a lower court. Although the injunction against 580 was still in place, PL immediately resubmitted the plan to CDF under a different management option. CDF approved the plan, releasing it from the injunction in early July. Pacific Lumber informed CDF of its intent to cut on July 8, and the ancient trees began to fall.

The sense of complacency which persisted throughout the spring here in Northern California has been shattered. People still express shock at learning that old-growth redwoods are being cut right now in Headwaters Forest lands designated as critical marbled murrelet habitat. Pacific Lumber's timing was impeccable; Earth First! has organized a base camp to begin July 19 for Headwaters actions, and PL seems to be racing to finish as much of the cut as possible before a large number of activists arrive. Two of the plan's five units are almost completely clearcut, and only half a unit remains standing except the seasonal restriction zone for the murrelet.

Although many local EF! organizers were busy this week with base camp preparations and other actions, the enthusiastic folks at North Coast Earth First! in Arcata rigged a tree-sit, and have been playing cat and mouse with the loggers and PL security ever

since. "Endiku" climbed about 80 feet into a large Douglas fir, placing himself directly in the fall path of an ancient redwood tree. Arcata EF! organizer Josh Brown, estimating the upslope redwood's age at between 800 and 1,000 years, is sure that "if they fell it, they'll kill him." Fortunately, other things were on Endiku's mind; as he rose into the fog, he was heard to exclaim, "Man, it's so beautiful up there!" The group hopes to maintain the tree-sitting and slow down logging operations until reinforcements arrive. More direct action in 580 can be expected soon!

Meanwhile, negotiations with Clinton's subordinates are being actively undermined by Maxxam Corporation, parent company of PL. Pacific Lumber has hired a well-connected Sacramento public relations firm to fabricate a bogus "coalition" to "save" Headwaters; this ridiculous fiction has been labeled the Headwaters Consensus Coalition, and the PR firm is using its money and muscle to recruit liberal environmental organizations and politicians to its position. Even the name of the so-called coalition is a direct attempt to confuse the public; the "legitimate," largely grassroots Headwaters Forest Coordinating Committee has invested months of time and thousands of dollars in negotiating for real protection of the entire Headwaters Forest.

The Consensus Coalition's materials call repeatedly for "just compensation" of Headwaters' corporate jailers, to the absurdly inflated tune of \$550 million. PL also offers to be "creative" in its approach to compensation; it would consider a profitable land swap. At this point, the plot thickens even more. A July 17 article in the *San Francisco Examiner* revealed that former California Assembly Speaker and current San Francisco mayor Willie Brown has proposed swapping the closed Treasure Island naval base in San Francisco Bay for the

3,000-acre Headwaters Grove. "It's more than ironic that they would consider swapping Treasure Island with a pirate," said longtime Earth First! organizer Darryl Cherney.

On July 19, the *Wall Street Journal* announced that Maxxam head "Charles Hurwitz is close to a deal with federal and California officials under which Maxxam would receive thousands of acres of public and private land" in exchange for the Headwaters Grove. The article also announced that Sierra Pacific Industries' timberland north of Headwaters, which is critical to the survival of wild coho salmon in California, would be given to Pacific Lumber as part of the "swap" rather than protected by acquisition.

Meanwhile, the Department of the Interior is assuring jittery environmentalists that there is no deal... yet. The whole arrangement seems to be a flagrant media attempt by Maxxam to undermine the real effort to protect all of Headwaters Forest, which includes approximately 60,000 acres of old growth groves, connecting areas, buffer zones and drainages critical to the survival of wild coho salmon. Although the Clinton Administration has used and then betrayed almost every progressive cause that ever crossed its path, the negotiations with the Department of the Interior at least allowed grassroots environmentalists to discuss such subjects as Debt for Nature and real protection for Headwaters based on sound conservation biology rather than political expediency. Now, Charles Hurwitz is attempting to torpedo the negotiations and ensure that his ill-gotten profits will continue to grow. Our experience with 580 has amply demonstrated that it is a grave mistake to assume that a preliminary injunction or the mere existence of negotiations for acquisition mean much in terms of the preservation and eventual recovery of wilderness.

Mt. GRAHAM CLEARCUT FOR THIRD TELESCOPE

While hearty Earth First!ers were partying on the Jack Road in Idaho, the Forest Service was up to no good on Mt. Graham in southeastern Arizona. After illegally declaring a court injunction against logging to be over, the Forest Service authorized the University of Arizona (U of A) to finish cutting old-growth trees to clear the way for the third telescope on the East Peak of Mt. Graham. Acres of old growth, including the last habitat for the endangered Mt. Graham red squirrel, were lost. When this is added to the habitat loss from the Clark Peak fire this spring, it means that the red squirrel is in dire straits, and any more habitat loss could quickly push it to extinction.

In April 1996 President Clinton signed legislation containing

a "rider" that exempted the Mt. Graham telescopes from all cultural, religious and environmental laws. On May 24, Clinton passed an Executive Order saying his administration would protect Native American sacred sites. Five days later, however, the Clinton administration's Department of Justice lawyer appeared in court in Tucson, Arizona opposing Apache and environmental lawyers who were trying to protect the sacred mountain and its endangered squirrels.

It's time that Clinton stopped speaking out of both sides of his mouth and realized the holistic nature of Mt. Graham, and tells the Forest Service and U of A in no uncertain terms that there will be no more telescopes on Mt. Graham!



photo by Randy Grant



L.A. ACTIVISTS BLOCK CONSTRUCTION

Early on the morning of July 2, a group of activists chained their bodies to bulldozers excavating for the proposed Playa Vista and DreamWorks studio development in the Ballona Wetlands area, Los Angeles. It was an expansion of a protest action that began last March when a Venice woman chained herself to the bulldozer that first broke ground in the Ballona Wetlands area. [see "Lockdown in Tinseltown" in the June-July 1996 issue of the *Journal-Ed*] Local police and fire crews took over two hours to cut through the metal arm sheaths and handcuffs holding the two men and one woman to the bulldozer and skiploader on the site. The protesters were booked for trespassing and released on bail.

The activists are members of the group Eco Triage-SOS (ET-SOS), which claims that the public has been effectively shut out of the political process that has green-lighted Playa Vista, the largest private development ever to be proposed in Los Angeles. ET-SOS is demanding to meet with Steven Spielberg and Robert Maguire, co-developers of the Playa Vista project. ET-SOS says the bulldozing was being done without an Environmental Impact Report, in violation of the California Environmental Quality Act.

Los Angeles environmentalists have pointed out that Playa Vista and the DreamWorks studio



photo by James Garrett

will add 50,000 residents and workers to the already densely populated West Side, generate an additional ten tons of smog per day, and create another 200,000 daily car trips through West Los Angeles. "This entire area is at or near gridlock right now, several times a day, seven days a week," said ET-SOS spokesman Sean Maguire. "The developers have no way to mitigate the traffic and pollution disaster they're going to dump on the citizens of Los Angeles. Playa Vista needs to be drastically re-thought. That's all we're asking. We think it's a reasonable request."

HARASSMENT ONGOING AT BIG MOUNTAIN

In 1974, at the behest of the Peabody Coal Company, Congress passed Public Law 93-531, the Relocation Act, requiring 10,000 traditional Dine' to be forcibly relocated from their homes in the Big Mountain area of northern Arizona. Peabody Coal sought to get at the rich coal deposits found at Black Mesa, sacred land for the Dine'. In response to Public Law 93-531, Dine' traditionalists filed a lawsuit to repeal the Relocation Act. They were handed the Accommodation Agreement as a settlement, which in actuality is just a continuation of the Relocation Act. The Accommodation Agreement is a 75-year lease being imposed upon the Diné people by the Hopi Tribal Council, the Navajo Nation and the US government.

The Dine' People of Big Mountain, Arizona are being persecuted because of their refusal to sign the Accommodation Agreement. Stepped up harassment also may be due to the peoples' victory on March 4 when Peabody Coal Company's Kayenta mine permit renewal was revoked (see *Journal*, Beltane 1996).

Harassment has been intense since the traditional Spring Gathering in late May, when Hopi rangers set up blockades on all main roads to the site. Local residents and supporters were searched for any outstanding warrants, DUI's, current registration and insurance.

The worst harassment came before and during the two Sun Dances in July. The Hopi declared their reservation closed to all non-Hopi, selectively enforcing an exclusion law, in order to block the road into the Survival Camp Sun Dance. At the Survival Camp, both entrances were blockaded and many people, both locals and those who had

traveled long distances, were denied access to the ceremony, including the support group Seeds of Peace and some young children whose parents were already inside and participating in the ceremony. The blockades began to resemble a siege when Sun Dance participants were not allowed to leave camp for groceries or water without being denied re-entry.

During the Sun Dance, armed Hopi BIA rangers patrolled the woods and videotaped the ceremony, which is strictly forbidden. During the ceremony, they interrupted dancers and their families when they were putting prayer ties on the tree. They also bulldozed a 100-year-old, currently used, ceremonial hogan (building) in April.

All supporters and participants were threatened with a \$500 fine for every day they participated in the Sun Dance. That threat was not carried out, but Sun Dance leader Leonard Crow Dog was fined \$7,000 for "harvesting and possessing a green product," the Sun Dance tree.

The Navajo Nation has also abandoned its own people in their resistance against forced relocation. Navajo Tribal President Albert Hale has told the resisters that "there is no alternative," that they must sign the third proposed Accommodation Agreement by December 31 or face forced eviction. Those who continue to resist did not participate in drafting the proposed agreement.

The elders, residents and youth need you to make a commitment now to come and witness and observe. If you are able to help or want more information, please contact Sovereign Diné Nation, PO Box 2393, Flagstaff, AZ 86003; phone/fax (520) 522-8683; e-mail sdn@primenet.com.

LOGGING WALES ON THE WAYNE

BY THAN HITT

Although the history of the Wayne National Forest is one of subsidized industrial forestry, the tide is turning. For the last three years, environmentalists have effectively blocked all proposed timber sales on the Wayne. On July 9, the Buckeye Forest Council (BFC) of Athens, Ohio, jumped into the fray by pursuing a court injunction to stop the ill-named "Bluegrass Ridge Restoration Project," which is nothing more than two more timber sales. As a result, the three-year logging hiatus was extended when Judge Susan Dlott granted a Temporary Restraining Order (TRO) that prevents any damage by timbering or road building to the Wayne, at least until the case can be heard by the courts in August.

The lawsuit focuses on inaccurate maps in the Forest Service's Environmental Assessment (EA) for the Bluegrass Ridge timber sales. After the public used these maps to analyze the proposed timber sales and to critique the project, the Forest Service (USFS) announced its decision to offer 422 acres for selective cutting and thinning. Following an unsuccessful appeal, the timber contracts were sold and the project was slated to begin in July, 1996.

However, when BFC obtained the timber sale contract maps they learned that — surprise! — the sale areas are radically different than the areas represented on the EA maps. These illegal tracts approach riparian zones and cover steep slopes in ways that were never anticipated by the public. Consequently, the USFS violated the NEPA process which requires full public participation in proposed timber sales. While the Forest Service publicly acknowledged the map discrepancies, it indicated no interest in complying with the National Environmental Policy Act and intended to proceed with the timber sales. That is, until the TRO landed on their desks.

The proposed timber sales of the so-called "Bluegrass Ridge Restoration Project" are about anything but restoration. In 1992, the USFS tried to sell the same areas in what was then called the "Bluegrass Ridge Timber Sale," which was halted by administrative appeals. In 1994 this project re-emerged as the euphemized "Bluegrass Ridge Restoration Project." The Forest Service now claims that the oak and hickory component of the forest is in dire need of help and that — how'd you guess? — cutting them down is the solution. So did the forest evolve a need to be managed for ecosystem health between 1992's timber sale and the 1994's restoration project? Of course not. This project is simply being draped in the forest health crisis flag that is currently devastating wildlands across the nation.

However, just as in 1992, this project must be scrapped. The BFC intends to stop all logging on public lands in Ohio and insists that the Forest Service follow the laws which protect the land. For donations to aid us in our lawsuit, contact the Buckeye Forest Council at POB 99, Athens, Ohio 45701; phone/fax (614) 594-6400; email buckeye@envirolink.org.

Than Hitt, the new Campaign Coordinator for the Buckeye Forest Council, can be found picking a guitar in the Big Bear dumpster, crooning "Here's what I need."

Champion Paper Gets Unwarm Welcome in Tennessee

Over 100 people gathered at the entrance to Champion Paper's new chipmill on July 16 to protest the arrival of large-scale clearcutting in eastern Tennessee. The unwelcoming ceremony, organized by the Campbell/Anderson Chapter of Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM), brought out scores of locals. They were joined by others from middle Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, and as far away as Indiana who are also concerned about the fate of southeastern forests.

As timber stocks are depleted in the Pacific Northwest, multinational timber and paper interests are increasingly turning their attention eastward, attracted by the millions of acres of forests now recovering from being over-logged at the turn of the century. The multinationals are also enticed by the

lack of timber regulations in most southeastern states. The logging industries of Alabama and Mississippi have already bottomed out due to massive clearcutting and the multinationals are now moving to neighboring regions. Several chipmills have opened in Arkansas, Kentucky, and North Carolina over the past year, and more are planned. Champion's Campbell County mill is Tennessee's first, but applications for more are currently in the works.

Members of Save Our Cumberland Mountains and allied groups, however, are working hard to keep local economies based on sustainable logging alive. The message to big timber interests is loud and clear: Citizens are not going to sit without a fight and let their forests be cleared and chipped up by a company that will pull out in ten years. They are

getting together in the rural areas where they live and, increasingly, they are getting together with people from other areas as well.

People of all ages came out and enjoyed Dr. Seuss-like poetry and street theater at the SOCM rally. Fifteen-year-old Anthony Lay read the tale of Champ-I-Am, the monster who stole the Cumberland Mountains. After a black ribbon was cut with a chainsaw, the ceremony wound down and the crowd began to leave as songs written for Champion and the Pigeon River were sung. The strong show of support from neighboring states should give notice to Champion and other companies: People are going to be watching them, and fighting them, wherever they go.

—SAVE OUR CUMBERLAND MOUNTAINS

August-September 1996 *Earth First!* Page 13

Put On Yer Dancin' Shoes:

INTERVIEW BY KIMBERLY DAWN

Peg Millett has been an Earth First! activist since the mid-1980's. In the late eighties she and four others were framed in an FBI sting operation. The Arizona Five, as they have become known as, were arrested for conspiring to cut down a power line in 1989. After spending two and a half years in jail, Peg continues to be a powerful voice for the Earth First! movement, through her singing and continued activism. This is the first installation of a two-part interview.

I started interviewing Peg at the 1995 Earth First! Activist Conference in Austin, and after losing a good chunk of the juicy tidbits to the mini-cassette god, I finished at my Grandparents house in June of 1996. Although I officially met her in 1993, I knew of her since 1988 and thought I knew what information I wanted from the interview. Peg's a gabber and I took advantage of that—there were only a few questions she attempted to answer carefully—the rest of the time she was as open and unpretentious as I expected. However, as one question led to another I discovered so much more about Peg's history and who she is—it turns out she deserves a book, not just an interview. She's a fascinating woman who I am very proud to call my friend.

Let's talk about Peg Millett, the early years.

I was born in Flagstaff, Arizona and raised in the suburbs of Scottsdale. I had a lot of turmoil in my home when I was young and so I escaped into the desert and started relating to animals and plants. I liked to observe and study the natural world and went to the wild for solace, solitude and safety.

Before I went to college the second time I traveled around for about six years doing different jobs. I trained horses, worked in bars, as a fisherman, an apple picker. On my travels I always asked people, "What kind of tree is this and how much rainfall do you get here?" Nobody could tell me and it frustrated me. So I went to Prescott College to learn about natural history. I wanted to become an educator of children so that kids would know how much rainfall there is and what kind of trees are around them and what kinds of animals live with those trees, etc. I was dumbfounded at how little respect we have for the natural world. Watching all this destruction was killing me. So I moved out to the woods with a fellow I hooked up with.

When and how did you first get involved with Earth First!?

I read an interview with Dave Foreman in *Mother Earth News* in 1984. I thought, "Holy shit! This guy is talking my language. How come I don't know about any of these people?" There was an address at the bottom that said you can find out more if you read the *Earth First! Journal*. So I wrote to the *Journal* and said *please* send me a copy. I immediately subscribed and read the whole thing from cover to cover. In that copy they announced the Round River Rendezvous in Colorado in 1985. I thought, "I have to meet these people, I have to find out if this is real." From what I read these people had a red-neck mentality, they had this really caustic sense of humor. And I loved it, I totally related to it. I'm a red-neck, and I have a wild, caustic sense of humor. Plus they were passionately committed to changing the way the world is going. So I felt an affinity. I felt really jacked up about that.

It just so happened that in 1979 I had gone to a Rainbow gathering. I had a good time, I met a lot of people. But I did not connect with anyone because we didn't have a common goal; everybody just went

their own way—they were all doing love and peace and I could walk around naked. It was wonderful to be able to do that.

I went to the Rendezvous with the idea that it might be like the Rainbow gathering in that I'd have a good time but I'd never really connect and I'd never want to be involved again. When I got there I camped *way* at the edge of camp. I didn't know anybody but there was a bunch of people and they were all hob-nobbing and pallin' around. It was wonderful!

Then I started to get acquainted with people and went to the workshops. I went to Howie Wolke's workshop on the Forest Service—I had been work-

ing as a Forest Service firefighter. I didn't agree with fire suppression but I didn't know about the politics—I was very naïve, in other words. I sat there in the workshop and asked, "What is with this BLM land swap?" Howie said, "It's a smokescreen

and here's why," and he educated me. After that a man came up to me and said "I wanted to meet you because you're from Prescott and I'm originally from Arizona but now I live in Montana"—that was Gary Steele. He stuck his hand out and I thought, "Wow, somebody wants to meet me." He took me under his wing and introduced me to lots of people. That is how I got introduced to Earth First!

Did you stay involved after your first RRR?

Yeah, partly because I really loved the action after the Rendezvous. When I discovered guerrilla theater I discovered my calling. I volunteered to make signs for some stuff that we were doing in Arizona about uranium mining. It was just the beginning of the campaign for Mt. Graham.

I lived out in the woods without a phone but I listed myself in the *Journal* as a contact. I wasn't well versed in researching or paper monkeywrenching or anything like that. I just got out there in front of the media, acting like a silly goose having a good time and doing banners and all that sort of thing.

In 1987 you were on the RRR committee.

Wow, that was a great Rendezvous. At the 1986 Rendezvous I got really pissed off 'cause they had a gasoline generator. When it was decided that Arizona would be the next RRR site I signed up to be on the committee. It was on the north rim of the Grand Canyon and we could see forest fires across from us. I spent most of the Rendezvous as a cop—walking up and down in the area where people were starting fires for cooking. We put together a really kick-butt Rendezvous.

How did you first meet the players involved in the power lines action—Mike Fain, Ilse Asplund, Ron Fraser, Mark Davis and Mark Baker?

I had met Mark Davis through the town grapevine. Ron Fraser, a paid FBI informant, moved in to the trailer court that my friend Ilse was managing with her husband. I believe that was the spring of 1987. He began to become friends with her.

Fraser wanted me to drive with him to the Rendezvous in 1988 but I didn't want to because I wasn't comfortable around him at that time. I did end up taking a ride *back* from the Rendezvous with Mike Fain [an FBI agent] and Ron Fraser. In the meantime Mark Davis broached the subject of the ski lift action

to me in 1987 after the RRR. I had never really focused like Mark wanted me to with him. I decided to do it because I wanted to see if it worked. I was experimenting.

Could you go into the plans of the ski lift actions?

Yeah, it's over now. There's a ski lift on these peaks in northern Arizona that are seen as sacred land according to Hopi, Navajo and several other tribes around there. The people had been protesting, quietly and politely, to all the powers that be about this ski lift for the past 50 years. Mark wanted to target it at the time because Congress was going to pay for a new paved road. It was a really nasty and stupid situation and he wanted to bring attention to it.

We planned to cut the bolts on the pylons to the ski lift with a portable acetylene torch. The ski lift was under repair because it was between seasons—we had deliberately chosen that time of the year. We wrote hundreds of letters under the name of E.M.E.T.I.C., and sent them to media outlets the night of the action and afterwards. Then we went on top of the mountain and started cutting bolts. I don't know if the Feds knew about it or not. They claimed they didn't. They allowed us to do several acts of vandalism in order to snag Dave Foreman cause they were really after him. They didn't give a dang about us. They wanted to associate him with us.

Tell us about how the FBI infiltrated your little group.

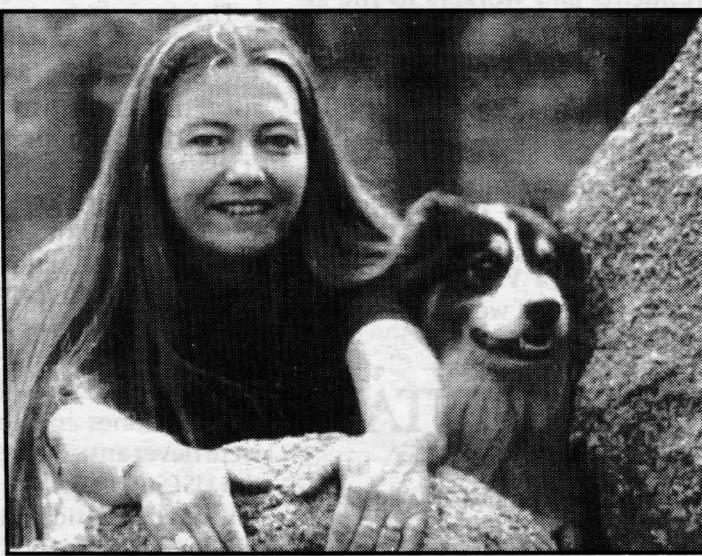
Mark Davis was mainly involved with anti-nuke stuff. I was involved with that and Earth First! which is why I think they decided to use me as a point of entry—which worked. They did psychological profiles on many of us and sent me my very own FBI agent, Mike Fain. I met him at the Rendezvous in 1988 after I heard about him from Ron Fraser. After the Rendezvous my husband went off for a month fire fighting. I was alone at my house in the woods and Fain drives up and wants to know if I know anything about oil pumps or something ridiculous like that—then we went dancing. He was very clever. He did a very good job at getting my trust.

After you all got busted there were a lot of rumors going around. One was that Fain had a romantic relationship with a friend of yours. What's the story behind that?

Fain and I were great on the dance floor and he was very willing to go dancing with me. I was also developing a major crush on this guy but I didn't want that to go anywhere. I wanted my marriage to work; I wanted to be with my husband—I really loved him. But I still wanted to be around Mike Fain so I introduced him to my friend Jane. The four of us, my husband, myself, Fain and Jane, went to country-western swing lessons every Thursday night at a local bar. That was pretty much as far as it went. My friend Jane also developed a crush on Mike Fain because he's very handsome. He led Jane to believe that, well...He took an AIDS test and all that shit. It was just a ploy to keep us strung along and both of us were extremely gullible about it. It was just a bummer. She never went to bed with him or anything like that. As for Mike, it was just a job for him. It would have been counter-productive for him to do anything more than allude to things. As long as we were both attracted he wouldn't go any further. And then he just stopped.

Did Fain or Fraser ever do anything to raise your suspicion?

When Fain first showed up at my house after the Rendezvous, my husband was gone. We were having a nice visit and by-golly for some reason we started talking about dancing. The country-western place is about 16 miles away but it takes an hour to drive because it's on a really gnarly road. We were going to drive in his truck and I noticed it wasn't for the kind of terrain that we were living in. I thought it was very funny that this macho cowboy guy doesn't have a macho truck.



Peg and her consort, Blossom, enjoying the Arizona sunshine.

photo by Ross Hillman

Interview with Peg Millett

Later, after it's dark, we're walking back and I'm wearing my little dancing shoes and my dancing dress. I always have a flashlight on me but I didn't use it and at first he was a little disoriented. We're walking along and all of a sudden I jumped—and I grabbed my flashlight and looked down to see what it was that had stung me. I noticed it was this big, long centipede and I thought, "Wow, cool." I'm bending over to look at it when I noticed Fain was about to smash it. I pushed him over before he had a chance to do it. Then I looked at him and I thought it was so weird.. I didn't understand why he would smash a centipede. That was a very major discrepancy in the way he portrayed himself to me and the way he was really acting. That was a *reaction* on his part. My reaction was to keep him off the centipede. It was very interesting but I didn't pay attention to it. Those two things, the truck being very unsuitable and the centipede incident, were signs for me. They were red flags—red flags I ignored because I didn't want to deal with it. I wanted to believe what he wanted me to believe.

How did Mike Fain get involved with planning the downing of the powerlines?

It was getting to the point where we were about to do something and Mike Fain was involved. It took a long time for people to develop a trust in him—but they did through me because I trusted him. That was very difficult for me to come to terms with because I had made a mistake by trusting him and people trusted me, an intense thing to realize.

We chose the power lines going to a pump station, which were not nuclear power lines, but just a pump station on the CAP project. Fain was working real hard to get us to do something to the nuclear power plant. Mark didn't want to mess with that in the direction they were pushing it.

What is CAP?

CAP is the Central Arizona Project. It's a water boondoggle, a pork-barrel project. They divert water from the Colorado river and pump it, channel it and bring it to Tucson. The pump stations pump the water uphill from the Colorado.

Why did you choose those power lines?

We chose the power lines going to the CAP project because we knew that they would not be connected to any city. And that the power lines were connected to the pump station and it would stop water from going uphill—and that would be all. We didn't like the CAP project—it's a dastardly defiance of nature. It was also in a remote area. We also just wanted a practice run to see if we could get away with it.

I understand that later you weren't as motivated to cut down the power lines.

I began to lose interest because I was more interested in preserving sacred lands. I was still going along on the momentum that we had started and excitement of it all. I didn't try to direct anything. I did talk about sacred lands—that is what I was most interested in. Mark was going in another direction and we were being influenced as well by people who were working for the Feds.

Set up for us the whys, whos, etc. of the power line action. Was there any significance in the day you picked for the action—May 31, 1989?

We picked it because of the moon which was waning—it was new and dark.

I understand the motives of Fain, Davis and yourself—which were all quite different. What motivated Ilse and Mark Baker, to the best of your knowledge?

Ilse was involved with this because she felt the same way as the rest of us and she was living with Mark Davis. Mark Baker, he was sort of like the mad scientist. He really wanted to be accepted—he was frustrated. I can't really speak for him but that was my impression. Mark Davis was talking to him a lot

about coming out and doing stuff at night. I've done stuff with Baker at night and he's really fun.

How did Ilse's pressuring affect how far you all went and how fast things came together?

Fain and Fraser definitely influenced us and pressured us. I sure was influenced by Fain—I can't speak for Mark Davis. I definitely went much further than I would have had it not been for both Mark and Mike.

I've heard you tell the story about the ride out to the power lines. Fain was secretly recording your conversation and later you all heard the tape with your lawyers. Exactly what happened?

To start out with, I didn't really want to go out. I was so scared, really stressed out and crying. Mark told me right before we went, "Look, you don't have to do this—at all."

He gave me the escape. But of course I wasn't going to back out at that point. I felt responsible for Mike Fain being there for one thing.

I wanted to ride in the back of the car 'cause I was so freaked out. And Fain said "Oh no, no—there's plenty of room in the front." Of course Fain wanted me up front so he could have my voice on tape as part of the trio.

As we were driving everybody was jacked up. We were getting ready to do something pretty scary. Meanwhile this is the last night for Fain and he's preparing to lead us right into the mouth of the Feds. We were being very punchy and really silly. We were talking about things like shooting cows on public land with arrows dipped in cyanide extracted from the seeds of apples—we were just talking shit. We were just howling—I was laughing so hard I could hardly see straight—it was ridiculous. When I listened to this on tape in the lawyer's office I laughed again. I thought if they put this on in the courtroom they're going to throw us out for being a bunch of idiots. It was too funny.

I take it they never played it in court?

Of course not! So we were driving out there and it felt very surreal and I began to feel resigned. It was like I was on the top of this wave and there was nothing to do now to change things. I was in the truck and we were going out to cut down a power line. I felt powerless in a way.

Aside from having a FBI agent along for the ride, what kind of security measures did you all take?

[Laughs] Well, I got this really strange, eerie feeling when we were driving down the road. I saw lights way, way ahead of us—this was at dusk—and I saw the lights turn off the road when we turned off the road. And way, way behind us I could see other lights

and they turned off the road the same time we did as well. It was very strange—I didn't understand it. We parked in a wash and we all decided to disguise our footprints. I wrapped my feet with duct tape. Mike Fain did the same thing with his shoes. Mark Davis put socks over his shoes. Mark Baker put plywood planks under his shoes and we called him

Daffy Duck. There were two towers standing side by side and he climbed up one of them to get a look around.

I thought it was a very stupid place to cut down a power line because it was in a little basin. There was no way to see beyond the wash. Of course it was where Fain lead us to and there were Feds hiding in bushes all around us. It was also a place where Mark wanted to cut this power line because he figured that the wire would pull the tower over a certain way.

Did Mark Davis and Fain choose the place together?

I'm pretty sure it was Davis and Fain.

Okay, so there you were with funny shoes unknowingly surrounded by the FBI—what happened next?

I was out there with this wand of brush and I was wiping out our tracks which was futile. I thought what am I doing this for—it's ridiculous—but I did it anyway. So there I was wiping out our

tracks and Mark Baker was up on this tower looking around. I was thinking this is a really weird place and why am I here. Fain was using a blanket to shield the light of the acetylene torch from the road—

And Mark Davis was using the acetylene torch?

Right. Then I ran around beating out little fires that started from the sparks of the acetylene torch. Mark got in a couple of inches on an I-beam then all of a sudden a flare went up. I heard this phoooooooooo—I looked up and everything's lit up. It was like the movies—slow motion and everything was shining, I could see all around—really weird. Some part of me knew—it had been waiting for this moment so it could say to the rest of me, "I told you so, I told you so."

Mark Davis was working—paying no attention to the flare. Mark Baker was looking at the flare with the same dumbfounded look that I had and Fain was just waiting for them to get us. I heard some rustling and some metallic sounds and I just thought "Oh shit, this is a setup. We're sitting ducks." So I ran past Mark Davis and Mike Fain and tapped them both on the shoulder and said, "I'm outta here." And I ran. I heard metallic clicks of guns behind me and someone yelling, "Halt, this is the FBI." I was sure they were going to shoot me in the back because they weren't going to shoot me in the front and I wasn't going to halt and I wasn't going to turn around. They didn't shoot me in the back, though. I ran off at top speed.

For the exciting conclusion to this incredible tale, tune in next issue, where Peg talks about shapeshifting, arrest, trial, dealing with Dave Foreman, etc.



Agave americana



CHIQUITA IS KILLING HONDURAS

BY ANDY FELGER

On February 1, 1996 the infamous Chiquita Corporation resorted to violence and anti-human rights tactics in their never-ending quest to pollute the world's land and rivers so a few heads of staff and CEOs can have larger paychecks. In June of 1994, a 6,000-strong banana workers' union in Tacamiche, Honduras went on strike against a subsidiary company of Chiquita called the Tela Railroad Company. In the midst of a 30 percent annual inflation increase, workers' wages had risen only three percent. When the strike ended, workers' wages had increased to nine percent. In the middle of all of this confusion, Chiquita decided not only to close down four of its banana farms (because they had killed the land) but also to obliterate the homes and crops of the people who had lived on "their property" for over half a century. The people of Tacamiche resisted relocation attempts and challenged the company's claims.

According to newly uncovered documents, Chiquita bought the 3,300 hectares of which Tacamiche is a part in 1936 for one dollar! There is still speculation as to whether the lands were a governmental concession, in which case the government and not the company would have control over the lands. Even if true, the government would probably continue to side with the wealthy company instead of the villagers.

On July 26, 1995 a battalion of 400 troops from the Honduran military converged on Tacamiche and used tear gas and baseball bats to gain control of the people and arrest about a hundred resisters. In the process, they destroyed the 200 acres of corn and beans that the people had sown two months before. Because the community resisted, the Honduran government gave the villagers two additional months to clear out.

According to Chiquita's news release, the corporation offered the workers identical jobs in other locations, supposedly better jobs. Similarly, according to Andrew Jackson, the American Indians were better off on the reservations he placed them on. But the reservations were not their homes, and another place is not Tacamiche. If the jobs are worth it the people will move on their own. The corporate dollar is what is in control here, not the best interest of the people.

In response to this, a nonviolent protest was held at the Chiquita Center on September 22, 1995 demanding solidarity with the people of Tacamiche. Following the protest, Chiquita officials assured local solidarity groups that no more forced evacuations would occur.

On February 1, 1996, Honduran soldiers evicted over 100 peasant families who had lived on this land for over 60 years, destroyed their houses, bulldozed their crops, cut down all of the trees, and illegally took the villagers' personal possessions, which have yet to be returned. All of this was backed by the order of a Honduran judge whom Chiquita allegedly paid off to get what it wanted. There is now an arrest order pending in Honduras for this judge.

Chiquita's annual sales exceed the gross national product of all of Honduras, yet the corporation has stolen the only home these native families have ever known.

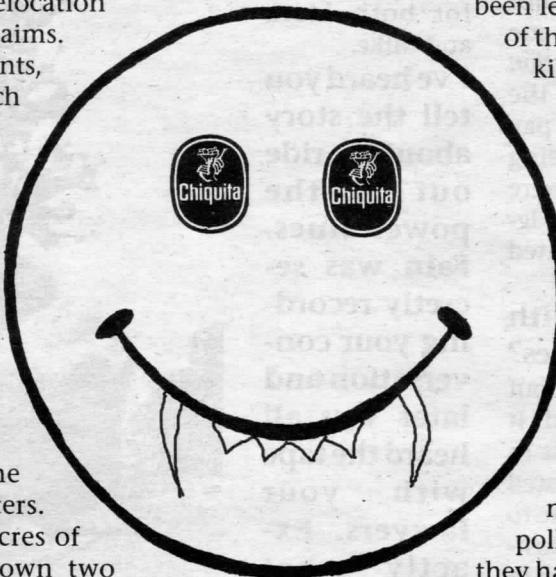
According to a priest in Honduras who has experienced Chiquita's wrath firsthand for many years, Chiquita took the best farming land in Honduras, land that used to be virgin forest, by pressuring a bad government with offers of money. At one point, Chiquita was virtually the government in Honduras. Chiquita's power has been lessened but it is still the biggest and the baddest of the companies down there. Not only is it trying to kill and destroy the worker's union, but it also has used such horrid and irresponsible farming techniques that they have run down and depleted entire valleys to the point that they can no longer support life because chemical fertilizers and pesticides have left the soil dead. Chiquita is so large and spread out that shutting down a few farms in Honduras doesn't matter to it.

From the destruction of virgin forests to their clandestine support of the San Salvadoran death squads, Chiquita has stepped over the line. They must be stopped from destroying our world's resources. They must not be allowed to take over land and abuse and pollute it until the pesticides and chemicals that they have dumped on it have poisoned the earth to the point where plant life can no longer exist on it.

According to Chiquita, "It is widely recognized that this form of unresolved criminal activity [the resistance] has already affected other investments in the area and caused the loss of Honduran jobs and export revenue." But what is going to cause more loss of Honduran jobs and export revenue is when their land is dead—when they have no more forests, the streams run brown with silt and their people have lost all they have because of Chiquita's carelessness.

Demand that the community of Tacamiche be rebuilt and the land returned. Support a nationwide boycott by refusing to buy its products and spreading the word to others. Let Chiquita know how you feel about their actions by contacting them in Cincinnati, Ohio at (513) 784-8000, fax: (513) 784-8856.

For more information contact Andy Felger at mdf4cinoh@aol.com or Piankasha EF!, 7992 Hopper Rd., Cincinnati, OH 45255.



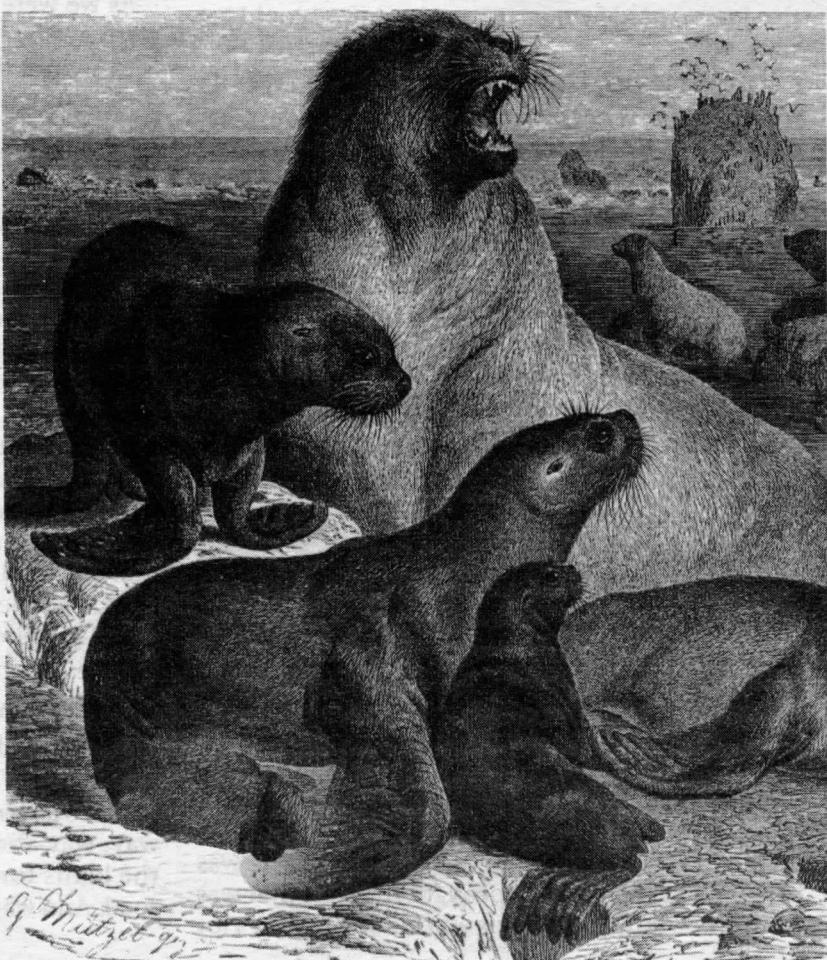
New Zealand Sea Lions Get Stay of Execution

The Auckland Islands squid fishery has been closed and the sea-lion-killing trawlers forced to leave—for this season at least. This is an important victory for the protection of the Hooker's sea lion, the world's largest sea lion, found only in New Zealand waters.

The number of sea lions caught and killed in squid nets this year clearly exceeded the legally imposed maximum limit. Closure of the fishery should be triggered when the number of sea lion deaths in any one year reaches 63 lions or 32 females, whichever occurs first. Estimates from Ministry of Fisheries observers were that 104 sea lions had drowned since this season's squid trawling began. Over 85 of the sea lions were females and most of these would have been pregnant and nursing a pup on shore.

Activists formally applauded the decision of Warwick Tuck, chief executive of the Ministry of Fisheries, to close the fishery. Right to the last, the industry played for time while disputing the number of sea lion deaths. When it became clear that the ministry was going to act, the industry agreed to withdraw all vessels in an attempt to avoid the precedent of an official closure of this valuable fishery. Mr. Tuck, to his credit, went ahead and closed the fishery anyway.

The scenario cannot be repeated next year. Sea lion drownings are not accidental bycatch, but an inevitable consequence of trawling in the seas around the Auckland Islands, where 95 percent of the Hooker's sea lions breed. The New Zealand Conservation Group Forest and Bird's 1990 proposal for a 100-kilometer marine mammal sanctuary around the islands should now be quickly put in place; the current sanctuary of only 20 kilometers in radius is clearly failing to protect the sea lions. Within the enlarged sanctuary area, squid could be caught by jigging, a fishing method that does not imperil sea lions.





JAILED RUSSIAN ECOACTIVIST TO GET MILITARY TRIAL

BY RENFREY CLARKE

One of the ugliest attacks against human rights and environmental activism in recent Russian history took an ominous turn on June 10, when imprisoned antinuclear campaigner Alexander Nikitin was denied bail and his trial was transferred from a civilian to a military court. Nikitin, a former naval captain, has been held in a St. Petersburg jail on espionage charges since being arrested on February 6 by the Federal Security Service (FSB, the former KGB). He faces a minimum ten-year sentence and a maximum penalty of death.

Neither Nikitin nor his lawyer, well-known civil liberties advocate Yury Schmidt, were allowed to attend the June 10 hearing on the case. As a researcher for the Norwegian environmental group, the Bellona Foundation, Nikitin helped prepare a report on radioactive contamination of the environment by the Russian Navy's Northern Fleet. Naval authorities allege that Nikitin divulged secret information to Bellona. However, the jailed activist and his supporters insist that all the information contained in the report was freely

available from nonclassified sources. Bellona's report, which was eventually released on April 19, painted a horrifying picture of negligent nuclear waste security by the Northern Fleet.

According to a Bellona spokesperson in Oslo, the FSB wants a military trial for Nikitin because the court will be closed, giving security authorities more control over Schmidt's defense. Addressing these issues in an interview published by the Moscow daily *Izvestiya* on June 8, Schmidt charged that the way was being prepared for gross violations of his client's rights. In the same interview, Schmidt argued that the FSB's demand for a military trial contravened a ruling by the Constitutional Court, Russia's highest legal authority. In a decision handed down on March 27, the Constitutional Court found that people charged with espionage had the right to be defended by counsel of their choice, instead of lawyers appointed by the FSB. If Nikitin is tried in a military court, the possibility of a normal defence will be sharply limited.

The question of whether the trial takes place in a closed court may be crucial if, as Schmidt expects, the FSB prosecutes the case in a highly improper fashion. The navy experts who prepared materials for the prosecution did so, Schmidt told *Izvestiya*, not on the basis of the Russian constitution or the recently-adopted Law on State Secrets, but on the basis of "old orders from the Defense Minister which contradict the constitution and the law."

The charges against Nikitin arise from materials discussing events from 30 to 35 years back. But the Law on State Secrets states that the maximum length of time for which material can be classified as secret is 30 years. One document cited by the navy experts as containing "top secret information" proved to be an abridged version of an *Izvestiya* article from March 1995. Bellona activists say that attempts to submit their sources as evidence in the investigation have been refused.

In summary, Schmidt told *Izvestiya* the only "secret" he had encountered in the case was the passionate wish of the armed forces to hide the catastrophic situation with respect to nuclear safety, compounded by the desire of the FSB to prove its usefulness.

The desperate blundering of the military and security authorities should not, of course, lead one to underestimate their seriousness in wanting to rid the country of environmental whistle-blowers. *Izvestiya* on June 8 also carried a report of an FSB agent, who, asking not to be named, said that further charges might be brought against Nikitin and other individuals.

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Hunger Strike in Israel

the undersigned, are on a hunger strike protesting the amalgamation in June, 1996 of the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Agriculture under the auspices of one minister.

This amalgamation imposes a direct conflict of interest between the two, which will reduce the authority and capability of the Environment ministry and place Israel's natural resources as well as her fauna and flora under dire threat.

Historically, Israel's open spaces were defined as agricultural lands and were protected by the agricultural ministry. The Lands Parcelation Act, passed by the previous Labor government and endorsed by the Ministry of Agriculture, will enable the majority of agricultural settlements in Israel to reduce their large debts by selling portions of their lands for urban and industrial development.

This would result in a large demographic shift of the population, creating the need for an infrastructure of roads, sewage facilities, and electrical supply, which in turn would fragment the open spaces of Israel and put intolerable pressure on the fauna and flora, resulting in the rapid, irreversible extinction of Israel's indigenous species. It also unnecessarily threatens Israel's water, land and air resources with domestic and industrial effluent.

I, Dr. Bernard Hurwitz of Moshav Yanuv, began this hunger strike on June 23, 1996 and was joined by Miss Gali Roter of Harutzim on July 7. Our struggle finds intensive support from the public while the establishment tends to remain inactive and uncommunicative.

Since 1948, the State of Israel has striven for security and economic independence, while failing to safeguard the basic elements of existence, clean air, land and water.

We are aware of the perpetual predicament existing between the utilization of nature for human progress and the unintended devastation of the planet's natural resources. We are convinced, however, that containment and careful planning can yet ensure the survival of nature.

Words are insufficient to express our objection to this impending exploitation of Israel's nature, which would not only endanger our continued existence here, but also deprive future generations of the pleasures offered us by the wonder and beauty of nature.

To our regret, the ecological state of our country has deteriorated dramatically since 1948. If decisive action is not taken we will face an ecological disaster in the very near future.

The aim of our hunger strike is to raise public and governmental awareness and to propose an alternative that will enable the people to actively play a role in the protection of our precious environment. We call upon the government to reconsider and halt the building of Highway 6. We want to make it known that Israel and the entire Middle East cannot afford any further exploitation of its land and water resources.

We will stand fast in our hunger strike and hope that the Minister for Environment and Agriculture will consider our recommendation favorably.

We suggest the establishment of a Public Advisory Committee to the minister. This committee would consist of professionals whose work pertains to environmental and ecological preservation and protection.

We would like to call upon the World Community to support our struggle.

—BERNARD HURWITZ AND GALI ROTER

For more information, please write or call Miss Gali Roter 011-972-9-984637; Dr. Bernard Hurwitz, 48 Ahuza St., Raanana, Israel, 011-972-9-428452; 011-972-9-901311 (fax); Mr. Hari Ringer 011-972-3-5181908

[Editor's Note—At press time, we heard from the hungerstrikers that they broke their fast after 33 days. They claimed victory upon receiving word from the government that they will reexamine the Lands Parcelation Act. Mr. Hurwitz said, "They responded to our protest because they knew we would fast to the death. We made it quite clear that any development would be over our dead bodies."—LH]



Clearing the Air with Burson-Marsteller

A new "astroturf" campaign, designed to influence the Clean Air Act reauthorization in 1997, is spreading around the country. The campaign is conducted under the auspices of a new organization calling itself the Foundation for Clean Air Progress. This new "foundation" is in reality a front for transportation, energy, manufacturing and agricultural groups operating out of the DC offices of public relations giant Burson-Marsteller.

The Foundation for Clean Air Progress

Established in June, 1995, as a non-profit educational foundation, the Foundation for Clean Air Progress (FCAP) describes itself as a "national, non-profit, non-partisan organization whose purpose is to provide public education and information about air quality progress, while motivating people to continue to contribute individually to improving air quality." Their materials go on to claim that despite 25 years of improving air quality in the United States as a result of "the combined efforts of government, industry and individuals... public opinion research indicates that people are largely unaware of this progress and continue to believe that air quality is generally poor and deteriorating."

FCAP shows its true colors with their emphasis on personal responsibility for solving the air pollution problem, a standard tactic for industry front campaigns looking to cloud an issue and deflect criticism.

Environmentalists in Tennessee and Pennsylvania report that FCAP has established organizations to conduct the public outreach elements of the campaign. Don Barger, the Southeast Regional Di-

rector of the National Parks and Conservation Association, a national parks advocacy organization, reports that a new group calling itself the Nashville Alliance for Clean Air Progress (NACAP) has begun to solicit the support of local businesses for the campaign.

New local affiliates of FCAP have begun to take out newspaper advertisements touting the progress in improving air quality in the US during the past 25 years. The message in the advertisements is that people, not polluting industries, are responsible for cleaning up air pollution.

In a description of their Nashville chapter, FCAP says "NACAP will be comprised of local businesses and industries and will provide information about improving air quality and motivation for area residents to continue to help the process through cooperative efforts with local groups..." Again, their message is that even though ordinary citizens may not have noticed, air quality has improved, and that further improvements should come from the voluntary efforts of individuals and not from additional regulations on industry.

"It's a delicate monster," said Don Barger when describing the FCAP campaign. "They cloud the issue and confuse the public with these claims, all of which are based in fact. But they are working with business to craft a deceptive message: that cleaning up our polluted air is an individual responsibility."

Burson-Marsteller: Go Fly A Kite

The letterhead for FCAP provides their address

and phone number in the upper left corner and includes a list of supporters down the left column. Between the address and the list of corporate sponsors is a delicate line drawing of a kite, with the words "Foundation for Clean Air Progress" forming the gently flowing tail of the kite. In the world of PR, image is everything—and Burson-Marsteller did not become the most successful PR company in the world by failing to craft compelling images for its clients.

According to John Stauber of PR Watch, a non-profit research group that monitors the public relations industry, Burson-Marsteller is the biggest PR firm in the world. In his book, *Toxic Sludge Is Good For You: Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry*, Stauber lists Burson-Marsteller's net fees in 1994 as \$191,990,000.

"They [Burson-Marsteller] are still the world's biggest greenwasher," said Stauber. "Their net earnings rose by 10.4 percent in 1995..." Stauber quoted figures compiled by *O'Dwyer's PR Services Report*, the magazine of record for the PR industry.

The list of Burson-Marsteller's clients includes: Exxon, Union Carbide, Phillip Morris, NBC, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, Occidental Petroleum, Genentech, Monsanto, National Restaurant Association, Coca-Cola, Dow Corning, General Electric, AT&T, Chevron, DuPont, IBM, Proctor & Gamble, Nestle, Motorola, Eli Lilly, Caterpillar, American Energy Alliance, Sears, Pfizer, McDonnell Douglas, Campbell Soup, Hitachi, British Columbia's timber industry, and the governments of Saudi Arabia, El Salvador and Italy.

Burson-Marsteller's involvement in "astroturf" anti-environmentalism is well-established, according to *Toxic Sludge Is Good For You*. In the chapter "Silencing Spring," Stauber writes:

The public relations industry has been closely involved with Wise Use since its founding, according to Joyce Nelson, the author of Sultans of Sleaze: Public Relations and the Media. Nelson writes that 36 of the corporations that are known to fund the Wise Use movement in the United States were clients of the PR firm Burson-Marsteller in the 1980s, the period during which industry began to pour money into organizing grassroots anti-environmentalism.

Burson-Marsteller's recent efforts include running the National Smoker's Alliance, a campaign to defeat anti-indoor pollution campaigns and efforts to ban cigarette smoking in public places for Phillip Morris. The same people working to preserve indoor air pollution are now moving their astroturf efforts to the great outdoors.

Suggested Action:

Be on the lookout in your area for new organizations named "(Your City) Alliance for Clean Air Progress." Look for newspaper ads touting the improved air quality in the US and exhorting people to "pitch-in" to do their part on curbing air pollution.

If you discover the Foundation for Clean Air Progress has established a chapter near you, please report it to CLEAR.

For more information on the anti-environmental FCAP campaign, including copies of their mission statement and newspaper advertisements, contact CLEAR at 1718 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20009; (202) 667-6982; e-mail: clear@ewg.org

For more information on the role of PR firms in pushing an anti-environmental agenda, contact PR Watch at 3318 Gregory Street, Madison, WI 53711; (608) 233-3346; e-mail: 74250.735@compuserve.com

For more information on the Foundation on Clean Air Progress contact them directly at 1801 K Street, Suite 1000L, Washington, DC 20036; (800) 272-1604.

—CLEAR



Nitassinan

Defending Eastern North America's Last Frontier

Mineral Fever: Staking out Innu Land

World's Largest Nickel Deposit Discovered In Voisey's Bay

Labrador has been discovered before. By the Norsemen almost a thousand years ago, and by the Basque, Breton and Portuguese fishermen who discovered the rich fisheries of the Labrador Sea well before the Santa Maria ever set sail. In the fifteenth century, Giovanni Cabot, upon reaching the shore of the New World, claimed the lands of the Innu, Beothuk and Mic Mac for King Henry VII, who sent him hither to "conquer, occupy and possess the lands of the infidels."

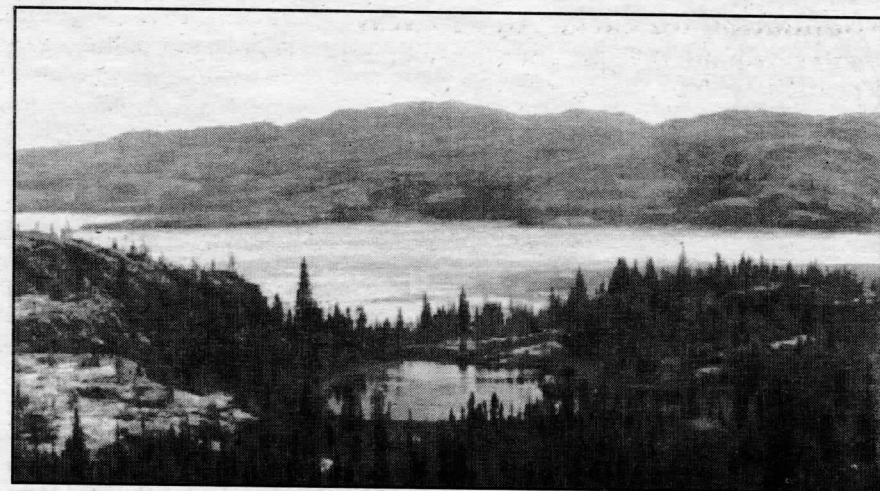
But it would take almost another 500 years for a technologically over-developed society to find a dollar value for Labrador's scrawny trees, fools gold, and mighty rivers. Although Labrador was the launching post for the earliest explorations of the continent, much of it remained unexplored until well into the twentieth century. Even the fur trade, which had found its way to the most remote corners of the arctic, failed to penetrate the Labrador interior and the Labrador Innu continued to freely roam the peninsula as they had for thousands of years, following the migrations of the caribou and the salmon in their seasonal cycles. In the 1950s, an industrial encroachment began, with the establishment of military bases, hydro dams, and iron ore mines. But still, most of Labrador remains roadless and relatively unspoiled.

The map of Labrador is dissected by only a single road: a 500 kilometer unpaved tote road connecting the iron ore mines in western Labrador to the Churchill Falls hydro complex, and east to the Goose Bay military base. For the rest, the peninsula is without cars, billboards, electric lights, tourist concessions, or even hiking trails. From the extensive boreal forests of southern Labrador, to the high sub-arctic tundra, this is still a place where evolutionary processes are in play, where large herds of mammals roam freely over great expanses of taiga and tundra, and where a delicate ecological balance is achieved not by management, but through the drama between wolf and caribou, falcon and vole. It is a place where pristine rivers, thick with salmon and char, run freely from the mountains to the sea.

However, this is rapidly changing. Between November, 1994 -- when a Vancouver Mining company, Diamond Fields Resources, announced its discovery of the richest nickel ore body the world has ever known -- and June, 1995 the Labrador peninsula had been transformed into a checkerboard of mineral claims of hundreds of mining companies from around the world. Today claims are staked without ceremony, and without so much as the requirement of setting foot on the land. Hundreds of holes have been drilled into the tundra and taiga. Presently there are more than 50 companies actively drilling in Labrador, the sky is awash with helicopters and planes; there are fuel spills, giant bore holes, drilling sludge, animals are harassed or killed; there is dumping, debris, noise, heavy equipment -- all of this is taking place without any environmental regulation whatsoever, and without the approval of the Innu or Inuit who live there.

A Place of Great Beauty

The site of the famous ore body is known as Voisey's Bay, so-called after an English trader, Amos Voisey, whose abandoned weather-beaten post, hanging precariously over the tidal waters of the Labrador sea, is the only testament to the presence of commercial enterprise in this vast, undisturbed area. The Innu call the place Emish, after the Emish river. Testimony to the Innu and Inuit's presence here is more subtle, but is everywhere: in old snares left hanging in trees, in ancient and not-so-ancient campsites; and in the evidence, buried deep, of the immemorial occupancy by two peoples whose impact was no more lasting than footprints in the sand. Caribou antlers carefully suspended from the upper boughs of trees in honor of the Animal Master, are a reminder of an ancient pact between humankind and the animal world that made their home a spiritual universe and insured survival, in one of the harshest and coldest climates in the world.



Emish (Voisey's Bay). photo: John Clark

In the spring and fall, thousands of migrating geese flock to feed and nest in the nutrient rich marshes around Voisey and Antakalek Bays. Whales and dolphins sport in the turquoise colored waters, diving beneath rainbows, at the feet of the rugged Shining Tops mountains; wolf tracks mark the white sand beaches and inland, animals paths -- caribou, lynx, bear, fox, marten -- crisscross the intricate tapestry of lichen and mosses, wildflowers, and berries of all varieties. Eagles soar from giant granite cliffs.

Innu and Inuit Ignored

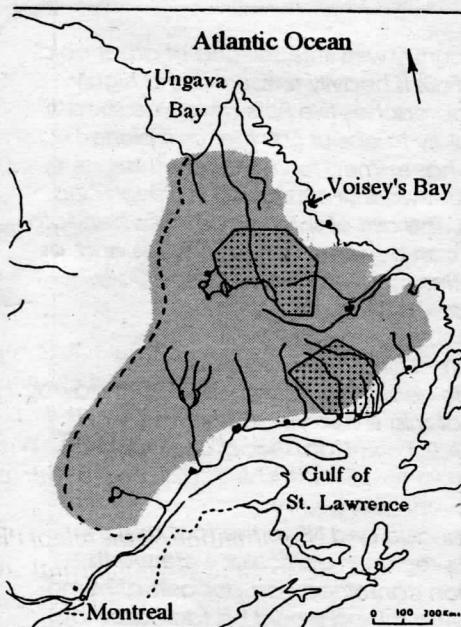
Billions of dollars have exchanged hands over mineral rights to this land, by those who have never set foot in Labrador. After one of the most intense bidding wars in Canada's history, nickel giant Inco, of Sudbury fame, successfully out-bid Falconbridge, buying out Diamond Fields Resources shares in Voisey's Bay at \$4.5 billion. Diamond Fields biggest shareholder, the infamous environmental criminal, Robert Friedland (who is associated with both the Summitville, Colorado, and Guyana mining disasters) walked away from the deal with \$650 million, meanwhile the people of the barrens, many of whom were born and raised in Emish, remain virtually destitute.

Neither the Innu nor the Inuit were informed before Diamond Fields set up its exploration camp in the winter of 1994-95. Since a group of Innu occupied Diamond Field's exploratory camp in February, 1995 and evicted the company from the site, the company has been forced to consult with the Innu. The Innu have demanded a moratorium on all development until their land claims have been settled, and until a full federal/provincial environmental review of the project has been completed. Newfoundland has ignored their demands; nevertheless they have had some effect. Thanks to the pressure put on the Newfoundland government by the Innu and Inuit, the Company has not gained approval for its request to begin construction of roads, airstrips and loading dock in April of 1996.

Friedland is saying that he has learned his lesson and promises the development to be "environmentally bullet-proof" -- a promise he has absolutely no authority to make. According to a study conducted by the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, there has never been a metallic sulfide mine that has not leached sulfuric acid into neighboring streams or groundwater. The waste rock, which will constitute 95% of the rock that is dug up, will remain toxic for hundreds of thousands of years, and no lining can guarantee containment forever. No

...continued inside

We Call Our Land Nitassinan...



...In the extreme North eastern part of North America lies a land known to its original inhabitants as Nitassinan. This territory encompasses the eastern part of the land north of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, most of the inland area of Quebec and all of what is now known as Labrador except for certain areas of the north coast.

The original inhabitants of this land were and remain the Innu. We have been variously described by Europeans as Montagnais, Naskapi, Eastern Cree and any combination of these terms. We speak a single language which is understood by all Innu in spite of regional dialects, and we share a single culture and territory and history. Today we are based in thirteen different villages. Almost all these villages are situated at or near the outlets of the major rivers which drain the Innu territory. Most of the rivers historically used by the Innu to reach the Hudson's Bay company posts flowed south. Thus most of today's villages are on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

It is essential to know that the terms Quebec or Labrador Innu do not reflect any indigenous reality and are historically meaningless. This remains true in spite of the fact that two Innu populations, those of Sheshatshit and Utshimasisit, live under government structures which are different from those of the rest of the Innu. In fact, the entire Innu population of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula form a single people.

We are a hunting people. Our language is rich in words and meaning in the setting for which it was developed, the country. Our values, spiritual beliefs and ways of relating to one another come alive and function in the country where we can live the hunting life. By contrast, in the villages our values and ways of relating to one another are under attack and crumbling. The impact of the European intrusion, the missionizing and "civilizing" drive with which the Innu were confronted everywhere they met the Europeans, was not felt uniformly and simultaneously throughout Nitassinan, the Innu territory. For while the Innu who lived in the areas north of Tadoussac and the country north of the St. Lawrence River to the site of Quebec city were already being traumatized by close and prolonged contact with Jesuit missionaries and French adventurers in the mid 17th century, the Innu from regions further north and east survived relatively unscathed until the mid 20th century.

We know that our fathers, mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers lived lives which were heroic in scale. Traveling on foot and by canoe and carrying all their possessions, small children, babies and old people, they covered thousands of miles in their lifetimes. They lived independent of any outside source of assistance and raised and fed families entirely by hunting. To do this sometimes meant to have to overcome unimaginable hardships and adversity to succeed. A map of all the movement of Innu over several generations before the building of the settlements would be darkened by a dense web of lines all over the peninsula... -Innu Nation

Hydro Development In Nitassinan: A History

Colossus on the March: The Manic Projects



In the early 1960s a Canadian journalist described Hydro Quebec as a "colossus on the march". By the end of the decade, HQ had built over a dozen major dams in eastern Quebec (the Manic and Bersimis projects), which were the largest and most technologically advanced dams in the world. While HQ was building the Manic projects, and developing the technology for high voltage powerlines capable of transporting electricity over great distances, it was also at work with Newfoundland Hydro on the Churchill Falls complex in Labrador. [At the time it began operation in 1971 it was the world's largest dam complex, and it is still Canada's largest electric generating facility. See below]

The Manic and Churchill projects were the grandfathers of the James Bay projects that would follow; they were the first giant steps in the 'conquest' of the North.

With the construction of the Manic projects, the Innu, born and raised in the area submerged beneath the massive Manicougan reservoir, not only lost their legacy, their hunting territory, their traplines, and their livelihoods, but also all their equipment—canoes, snowshoes, traps, tents, utensils—all destroyed in the deluge. None of the Innu who were actively occupying the territory were so much as told that there would be flooding. Pierre Vachon (below) received a total of \$150 in compensation—as well as a monthly electric bill from Hydro Quebec.

Since their lands and travel routes were flooded, the Innu hunters of the Manicougan-Bestimatis region, like Pierre and Barnabe Vachon, have been confined to reserves where they have lived in idleness.

Churchill Falls: One of the World's Great Cataracts



The Naskapi River bed, one of the dozens of rivers harnessed in the Churchill Falls complex. Photo: John Clark

On Patshetshunan (The Grand Falls)

I remember one very beautiful lake. It had islands on it, we called it Lake Kaniknuanikau. The islands had fir and birch trees mixed together. The Innu liked this place very much, I remember arriving there one winter after a long journey on snowshoes and towing our belongings on toboggan. We usually stayed there throughout the spring and then began our trek back to summer camps on the coast. It was a big lake and we used a pole to push our canoe up the rapids. Paddling by the small birchy islands was a very beautiful sight. There were so many islands. Tshaukuesh was born near there early one spring when we headed back to Uashau. Rose was born nearby in the fall. Our father delivered them both. I have many good memories of that place. Now all those small and beautiful islands are underwater. (Maniaten, quoted in Marie Wadden, Nitassinan)

The Innu not only lived, hunted and travelled over land now underwater, they also buried their dead there, and carefully marked sites where children were born and when legendary and heroic deeds had occurred. The flooding of graves is considered a blasphemous act by many Innu. Archeologists speculate that thousands of years of Innu history disappeared with those graves. The single archeologist hired by the companies surveyed the area before it was flooded, and found campsites and bones a thousand years old. That was the first and last survey of one of the most important archeological sites in Canada. Evidence needed to prove Innu land rights has been wiped out by those who now make claims to the land. (Marie Wadden, Nitassinan: The Innu Struggle to Reclaim Their Homeland, 1992.)

Pierre Vachon, b. 1906

They shouldn't have drowned our equipment, they have boats, they have motors, they could have said, "We are going to take you down there to gather your equipment because the water is going to rise soon." We could have at least saved our equipment so at least they wouldn't have destroyed that as well. Our way of life was destroyed, we could of at least saved our things. The government knew that there were Indians there, and that the water was going to rise. They knew that there were hunters all around the lake. It was the equipment of our fathers that we used from generation to generation, as well as what we bought ourselves. All of it was lost.

You see, I am already 63 years old. It is the forest that gave me life, the animals that my father hunted. He said to me: "This is the way that you will live, you also, you will live in the forest." And that is what I did. And now I can no longer live like this, the area where I hunted is destroyed and they have even ruined the hunting on the coast, it's completely desert, there are no trees. How are we supposed to find animals?

The way it is when the Indians go out to hunt today, there is nothing left, there is no more forest. At the other end of the lake, the canoes cannot pass, because the drowned trees prevent the canoes from passing. Even if we can get to the forest somehow, we try to hunt but there is nothing. The animals have gone away. How would you like to stay here, where there is nothing left?

Barnabe Vachon, b. 1911

They took away our culture, our way of life. They didn't say a word to us when they wanted to build the dam. At least, they could have offered us jobs. At least if they had warned us. The government should have asked us, "What do you do with this river? Do you use it? I want to use it." It's true, the Indian is of no importance when someone wants to do something.

(Recorded by Arthur Lamothe in 1973, Les Ateliers Audio-Visuel du Quebec. Translated from Innu-aimun.)

Before acquiring the name Churchill Falls (it was Winston Churchill who put the first \$10,000 down on the hydro project) the magnificent waterfall, taller than Niagara, was called the Grand Falls by the handful of Europeans or Canadians who knew of its existence. The Innu called it *Patshetshunan*, meaning "Great Steam rising," because of the great mist that ensouled the surrounding forests and lakes for miles around. The so-called Churchill river was the largest river in Labrador, draining 29,900 miles, and the Innu's most important highway into the interior. Dammed before its 316 foot plunge, the river now passes through a shaft and into an underground tunnel. The numerous lakes and surrounding forests were submerged beneath a 6,700 sq km reservoir (roughly half the size of Lake Ontario). Dozens of rivers, including the Naskapi river (pictured), were reduced to a mere trickle.

In an arrangement between Newfoundland and Quebec, described as "the most notorious contract in Canada's history" Newfoundland is required to sell 85% of the power to HQ at pre-1973 prices, which HQ resells at nine times the price. 735 kilovolt powerlines—the highest voltage powerlines in the world—carry 35 billion kilowatt hours annually, the equivalent of 158,000 barrels of oil a day, across hundreds of miles of subarctic wildlands to southern markets.

As occurred with the Manic projects, the Innu were not informed about the flooding. Their canoes, tents, traps, and all their belongings were lost, and they were never compensated.

The Churchill complex has been called "one of Canada's great successes". The Innu call it "A great crime against the Innu and the Earth."

While Labrador is a bleak and bare country with little soil and of great cold, the immediate neighborhood of these Falls is heavily timbered and highly scenic... The river for about five miles approaches the Falls as a wide stream of tumultuous rapids, then narrows rapidly to about 500 feet as it plunges 316 feet to a deep circular basin that it has formed for itself; from this it empties into a majestic canyon with sheer walls of 300 to 500 feet high and through this it roars for some thirty miles. The cliff of solid rock shakes beneath the beholders feet, the clouds of spray can be seen for twenty miles and, as if to add a finishing touch of beauty to the scene, rainbows perpetually hover over it. ("The World's Great Cataracts," Nat. Geog., 1934)

The noise of the falls has a stunning effect and although deadened because of its enclosed situation can be heard for more than ten miles away as a deep, booming sound. The cloud of mist is also visible from any eminence within a radius of twenty miles. (A.P. Low, Can. Geog. Journal 1895)

Indeed, it was Mr. Low who awoke Canada and NF to the fact that Labrador in general and the Grand Falls region in particular were worth having. He reported that the latter region contained vast deposits of hematite and magnetite rich in manganese. The mining would be facilitated by their proximity to a tremendous waterfall, estimated capable of generating nearly 5 million horse-power. Gradually it has been felt that this area would become the key to development of the entire Peninsula. From this centre would radiate power to grind forests of spruce into pulp, saw trees into lumber, and to electrify the proposed railway. (V. Frissell, Geo. Journ., 1927)

SM3: Hydro Quebec's Current Assault



Hydro Quebec's SM3 access road has since been upgraded to a six-lane all weather highway. The area pictured forms part of the largest forestry concession in Quebec's history. An Innu tent and road blockade are visible. photo: courtesy of Surete du Quebec

What is SM3?

The SM3 project is a mega-dam complex that will be the 14th dam on the territory of the Innu people. All of the dams that have been built in Nitassinan by Hydro Quebec were completed without any environmental assessment and without consultation with the Innu people. The SM3 project has been vigorously opposed by the Innu community of Mani-Utenam, who continue to depend upon the fragile ecosystems that are threatened by the project, for their physical, spiritual and cultural survival. Although the SM3 project was the first to go through an environmental review, the recommendations of the environmental assessment panel, the BAPE, were ignored. The panel concluded that the demand for another mega project could not be justified given the huge energy surplus in Quebec, and that the environmental and social consequences were too great.

The most contested aspect of the SM3 proposal was a scheme to divert the headwaters of the pristine Moisie River. The Moisie has been called "the most important Atlantic Salmon river in North America" by the Atlantic Salmon Federation, and to the Innu of Mani-Utenam, it is their "Great River", and remains their most important tie to the traditional life.

Construction Underway

Despite the fact that Quebec has a 4,000 megawatt surplus, HQ is spending \$2.8 billion dollars towards further environmental degradation and cultural degradation for the Innu people, to produce an additional 500-850 MW of unneeded power. Construction began in 1994; through the summer of 1995, 1,400 workers were at the site. By the end of September, an 80 kilometer six lane paved highway was nearly complete.

Churchill Falls II and Muskrat Falls: Hydro's Next Invasion?

Newfoundland/Labrador Hydro has two more dams proposed for the Churchill river in Nitassinan (Labrador). The dams are currently being reviewed as a possible source for the huge mining project in Voisey's Bay. In 1995 Quebec re-opened negotiations with Newfoundland over the projects.

Churchill Falls II and Muskrat Falls Proposals

Gull Island (2264 MW) and Muskrat Falls (824 MW) will provide electricity to be sold primarily to Quebec. Two sections of river will be flooded: to a distance 190 km upstream from Gull Island covering 86 sq km, and from the base of the proposed Gull Island dam to the Muskrat Falls, approximately 50 km and covering 36 sq km. The proposed dams would be built on unceded Innu territory, and multiply the negative effects of the Churchill Falls I project.

The proponent (Newfoundland government and hydro) present the projects as "clean", yet they recognize "...the Lower Churchill valley is an exceptionally rich region. Plant growth, and numbers and diversity of species are above the average for the region." The project will not only consist of the dams, but transmission lines and the TransLabrador highway. Transmission lines to Newfoundland include 654 km from Churchill Falls to the Strait of Belle Isle, where a 16 km underwater line will lead to the Island of Newfoundland. Along with the unanswered questions associated with high-voltage transmission lines, they will cross traditional Innu hunting grounds and will likely cross through spectacular Gros Morne National Park, a World Heritage Site. The completion of the TransLabrador highway will allow extractive industry into pristine areas, currently being eyed by multinational mining companies.

The lower Churchill project has been proposed twice before, but the lack of energy demand and the lack of cooperation from Hydro Quebec have stalled construction. In 1980, the project received approval from the Federal Environmental Board (FEARP), after cursory hearings, relying on studies completed in the 1970s.

Newfoundland Hydro has argued that it should be allowed to go forward with construction with its 16 year old permits (based on a two page environmental impact statement) without having to submit to further environmental review.

SM3 Access Roads: 1.5 Billion Trees

During the debate over the construction of HQ's SM3 project, much of the opposition to the project from environmental groups focused largely on the project's potential impacts upon the Moisie River salmon. Innu opposition, however, focused as much on the Moisie salmon as it did upon the clearcutting that would inevitably follow the construction of access roads deep into the Innu territory. The Quebec Environmental Review Panel (BAPE) criticized HQ's EIS of the SM3 project by stating that it focused exclusively (and inadequately) on the Moisie salmon, and failed to consider other environmental impacts and the cumulative effects of its numerous dams along the North Shore as a whole. Forestry, of course, was a so-called secondary impact; it was only within the context of "Economic Impacts" that it was included in the debate. At the public hearings on the project, the former manager of the Port Cartier pulp mill, closed since 1991, suggested that the deforestation of the SM3 reservoir area would provide an opportunity to reopen the plant, and that the SM3 roads would provide access to an extensively forested area -- "new exploitable areas that will supply the plant over the long term."

Lo and behold, the pulp mill in Port Cartier has been re-opened. The key to the resurrection of the mill was an "adequate timber supply." Or more precisely, *roads*. HQ has contracted the Montreal-based company, Uniforet, to clearcut the SM3 reservoir area, and the trees are going to Port Cartier. According to *Canadian Papermaker*, the mill has received a long-range annual wood allotment of 1.5 million trees per year for 100 years, amounting to 1.5 billion trees. This is the largest forestry concession in Quebec's history, constituting an area approximately the size of the state of Vermont -- all of it unceded Innu land and the subject of pending land claims negotiations.

Defenders of HQ and hydro electricity in general are fond of comparing hydro-electricity favorably to fossil fuels with respect to CO₂ emissions; but this argument ignores the relationships between dams, roads, and clearcuts. HQ exempts itself from contributing to global warming, but the "clean energy" argument fails to consider the deforestation both necessary to dam construction, as well as the consequences of providing infrastructure for secondary industries.

Get Involved

Hydro Quebec has proposed to dam all the major rivers in Quebec by the year 2040: the same year that all the nuclear power plants in New England are expected to be out of operation. Currently nuclear power provides 60-80 percent of New England's electricity.

Become involved in the energy debate and advocate energy conservation and efficiency, as well as alternative, locally produced energy sources in your State.

What You Can Do:

Please write letters to the Newfoundland, Quebec, and Canadian governments, demanding that they respect the rights of the Innu People and remind them that by allowing industrial intrusions into Nitassinan they are contributing to the global biological meltdown.

Newfoundland

Premier Brian Tobin; Minister of Environment, Kevin Aylward
POB 8700 St. John's, NF A1B 4J6 Canada

Canada

Prime Minister Jean Cretien; Minister of Indian Affairs, Ron Irwin
Langevin Block, Parliament Bldgs. Ottawa, ON K1A 0A2 Canada
Quebec

Lucien Bouchard, Premier of Quebec: 885 Grand Allee est, Edifice J 3e etage Quebec,
PQ G1A 1A2 Canada

M. Jacques Brassard, Minister of Environment: 3900 rue de Marly, Sainte-Foy, PQ
G1X 4E4 Canada

M. Francois Gendron, Minister of Energy/Natural Resources, 5700 43 Avenue,
Ouest Charlesbourg, PQ G1H 6R1 Canada

Staking Out Innu Land, cont. from front page

metallic sulfide mine has ever been reclaimed. Will Mr. Friedland preside over the mountains of tailings for hundreds of thousands of years?

Northern Labrador provides refuge for many species which have been extirpated elsewhere in North America: walrus, wolf, polar bear, eagle, Atlantic salmon--and for an indeterminate number of endangered species, tenuously clinging to existence in this remote region --most notably, the wolverine and the Harlequin duck. In addition to the problem of the tailings, there will be sedimentation, which can clog streams and floodplains, and destroy fish and wildlife habitats; there will be dust, that may contain pollutants such as sulfur dioxide; there will be, most certainly, water pollution and changes in water table levels. In addition, there will be smelters and refineries, roads, airstrips, ship traffic, ice-breakers, and an influx of thousands of outsiders (mostly men, mostly white) with all of their consumptive and abusive habits.

The Innu, too, constitute an endangered species. What will this onslaught, and this degradation of the ecosystem which forms an integral part of their consciousness and cultural identity, mean for the fragile destiny of a people, already struggling with the terrible symptoms of cultural disintegration?

And what will it mean for North America, to have closed the circle that began, on these same sea-battered shores, over 500 years ago?

Species Observed in Voisey's Bay Project Area (short list)

Avifauna: peregrine falcon, golden eagle, merlin, boreal owl, harlequin duck, ptarmigan, grouse (also many varieties of migratory songbirds and seabirds, and waterfowl, with 40% of the ducks and 75% of the Canada geese in the Atlantic provinces originating in Labrador)...

Mammals: caribou, wolves, moose, black bear, wolverine, polar bear, foxes, lynx, marten, fisher, otter, lemming...

Marine Mammals: seal (bearded, grey, hooded, harbour, harp, ringed), whales (beluga, minke, humpback, right, sperm, narwhal), harbour porpoise, killer whale, Atlantic white-sided dolphin, walrus...

Fish: Atlantic salmon, arctic char, brook trout, stickleback, whitefish...

NATO's War on The Innu and the Earth

Low-Level Flying Over Nitassinan

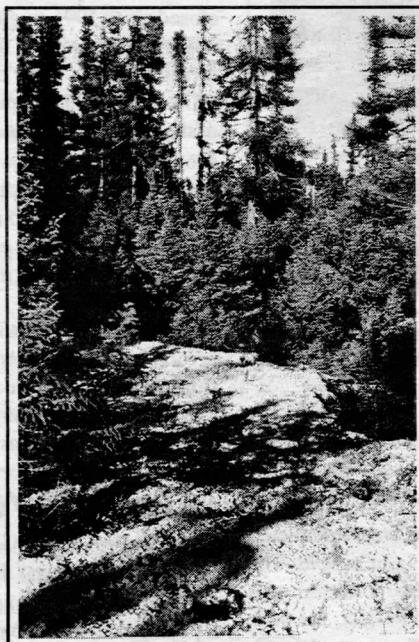
The first industrial intrusions into Labrador came with the militarization of the Canadian arctic and subarctic in the 1940s and 50s. When the US airforce built Canada's largest airfield during World War II in the heart of the Innu homeland, the still nomadic Innu would have been unaware of the war that was raging across the ocean. In the 1950's Labrador was chosen as a strategic site for practicing wargames in preparation for a conflict with the Soviet Union, because of the similarity of its terrain; and because of its location with respect to the Soviet Union, Labrador was chosen as the location for a web of enemy defense radar systems in the expectation of an invasion from over the north pole. Eventually, the US abandoned the base (bequeathing to Canada its toxic legacy), but Canada continued the practice, leasing out Labrador airspace to the airforces of NATO countries for low-level flying exercises. Now that the cold war is ostensibly over, the military justification for low-level flying practice over the Labrador tundra and taiga is tenuous at best.

It was during the 1980's that the low-level flying over the Innu homeland escalated to a level that was intolerable to the Innu. Their hunting camps were consistently menaced by jet bombers screaming overhead at altitudes as low as 100 ft., and by thousand-pound dummy bombs falling from the sky. Hence what may well be the longest running, most persistent non-violent campaign in Canada's history was launched. Entire communities occupied the runways and consequently filled the jails, with harsher and harsher penalties being handed down over the years. In February, 1996, Canada approved yet another escalation of these activities, and the Innu's campaign to stop the flights continues well into its second decade.

Wargames To Escalate

The Canadian government's response to what had become a high profile campaign that had received widespread international support, was to conduct an environmental impact study. The DND also agreed to develop a so-called avoidance program, so that "sensitive areas" could be excluded from the flying zones. To the outrage of the Innu, on May 1, 1995 the Canadian Environmental Review Panel (EERP) released the conclusions of its study on the effects of low-level flying: although it took eight years and \$16 million to complete, the panel of "experts" concluded that the evidence of negative impacts on the environment and on the Innu was *inconclusive* — nevertheless the panel recommended that the number of training exercises be doubled. The detailed testimony and heart-wrenching appeals of the Innu were altogether ignored. A second bombing range (the first one is covered with moon-like craters and littered with bomb casings), ground-level combat practice and forward firing weapons were all given the green light by the panel. Furthermore, the avoidance program was essentially scrapped because there were found to be too many "sensitive areas" for it to be practicable. In other words, the co-existence of wildlife and low-level jet bombers was deemed impossible, but it is the wildlife, not the bombers, that will just have to find somewhere else to go.

The indescribable noise of the jet bombers — which is unlike anything most of us have ever experienced and far exceeds the industrial noise we are accustomed to — is so loud that it actually exceeds the pain threshold for humans and the experience of being overflown by a jet at an altitude of 100 ft. is, clinically speaking, a form of injury. The force of the jets is enough



to lift the water off of lakes, and to flip Innu hunters in their canoes. The Innu hunters, who know the land intimately, have witnessed the effects on the animals, who have far more sensitive hearing than we do: birds die of shock; startled foxes devour their kits; caribou become disoriented and die of starvation; geese drop their eggs in mid-air. And when the jets have come and gone, in the instantaneous flash of a lightning bolt, the exhaust fumes have left a poisonous black film over foliage, over the moss-carpeted forest floor, and over the innumerable lakes and streams, where fish turn belly up and wash ashore.

Long before the environmental assessment was concluded the Innu had decided to boycott what was obviously a biased process. "Why doesn't the Canadian public see the inherent bias of a process, where the federal government is establishing the terms for a review of its own program?" asks Daniel Ashini, Director of Innu Rights and the Environment for the Innu Nation. "It's like asking MacDonalds to conduct a study on whether or not it makes good hamburgers. Of course they are going to say they make the best hamburgers in the world."

Evidence of Negative Impacts

The testimony of the Innu hunters was dismissed as "unscientific". Nonetheless numerous scientific studies have concluded that low-flying aircraft has had a negative affect on wildlife and on livestock.* The DND has paid out \$145,000 to compensate property owners for damage caused by military aircraft. In New Brunswick a fox farmer was paid \$45,000 for the disturbance caused by low-flying aircraft, which caused his foxes to eat their newborn kits, and pregnant foxes to abort. An Ontario farmer received \$10,000 in compensation for the deaths of goats and poultry after several passes by military aircraft.

Stop the Cold War

Low-level flight training was developed as a cold war strategy for use in the event of a war with the now defunct Soviet Union. In no way can the offensive "deep strike" strategy be justified as a defensive measure. According to the analysis of project Ploughshares, low-level flight training in Labrador may even be taken as a provocation, increasing rather than decreasing the probability of war.

The response of the governments of Great Britain and Germany to the appeals of a people who are standing at the brink of cultural extinction has been that this is an internal Canadian affair, in which they will not intervene. However, an invasion by foreign military aircraft, whether simulated or real, is nevertheless a kind of invasion, and while the citizens of NATO countries enjoy the so-called security of the policies of deterrence, we do so at the expense of the peace and security of the Innu.

Please write letters to these governments, reminding them that by participating in the war games in Nitassinan they are contributing to the cultural extinction of the Innu people.

•Mr. Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Republic of Germany, Post Fach 12053, 53113 Bonn, Germany •Mr. Malcolm Riskind, Minister of Defence, Main Building POB 20701, Ministry of Defence, Whitehall, London UK SW1A 2HB •Dr. J.J.C. Voorhoeve, Minister of Defence, 2500 ES, The Hague, Netherlands.

*(*Harrington and Veitch, Arctic, 1992; Research Info. Bulletin, US Dept. of Interior, N. 87-115; Daily Telegraph, July 31, 1990; The Ottawa Citizen, June 9, 1990*)

Suggested Reading

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Or see the Innu Nation web site.

This tabloid was produced by Friends of Nitassinan,
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Barricades for the Bears

Action. That's what's needed now, and action is what you are seeing. Activists are literally dug in at a number of locations where the timber industry and US Forest Service has planned new roads and timber sales in critical wildlife habitat. We're talking about entrenched, organized, long-term resistance evolved much beyond the occasional hit-and-run banner action. Despite what you might read in the press, either the mainstream media or the snarky alternative media, not only is Earth First! more active now than ever, we are playing a leading role in helping to frame the debate over wilderness and wildlife protection. We are also setting the agenda for the future. You don't have to take my word for this, just read it here in the *Earth First! Journal*.

It doesn't seem, as our detractors and naysayers would have us believe, that we are in much danger of losing our focus. I talk to people now and then who have been to a Rendezvous or two, or maybe an action or a meeting and think that they have it all figured out. Maybe they are just too scared or lazy to act and are looking for rationalizations. Maybe they've read some of the scandalous bunk that has been written over the last few years. Maybe they heard someone give a speech. The problem is, trying to figure out Earth First! by going to a Rendezvous is like trying to figure out Yale by going to a frat party. And if you believe all the media swill, you'd probably think we're a naked voodoo hippie cult living off tofu or road kill.

In the local communities where Earth First! and other radical environmental groups have been waging intensive campaigns a clearer image of our movement begins to emerge. Changes are taking place across the nation that will truly have long-term impacts on the conservation movement. As one Idaho County Sheriff's Deputy recently stated to a reporter in Dixie, "If you listen to the rhetoric, you'd think all Earth First!ers had two heads and carried a bucket of tree spikes. It just ain't true. If I drove all the way out here and saw all these clearcuts, I'd be concerned, too."

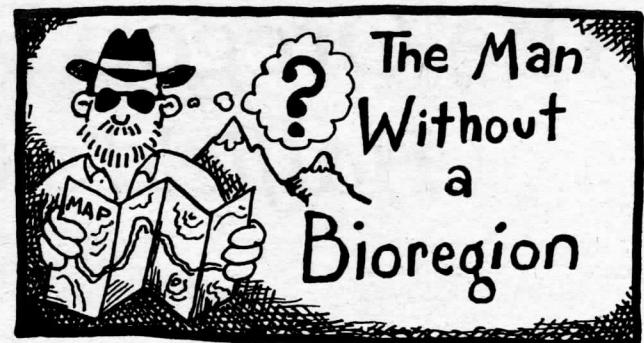
And Earth First! campaigns are scoring victories in places like Louisiana, Wisconsin and Maine. A recent

Pew Foundation-financed poll concluded that the public has little confidence that the mainstream environmental movement is capable of or willing to deal with the rapidly deteriorating ecological crisis. By standing between the machines and the destruction, grassroots groups are sending a clear message to the public about what has to be done. People need to take personal responsibility for what is happening and *act*. When we do this, even the most formidable of our adversaries can be overcome.

The public's discontent with the national environmental groups has even reached the US Congress. Now, members of Congress, from all sides of the aisle, are willing to support far-reaching legislation like the Northern Rockies Ecosystem Protection Act and Zero Cut, even though this same legislation is opposed by most of the national environmental groups. This strong public support for the environment has caused the right-wing Republicans to do a full retreat on gutting the Endangered Species Act and weakening other laws. Clearly, support for the environment is far deeper than the skeptics who lobby Congress for the Group of Ten were telling us just last year when they said to expect less and prepare to compromise more. It is not the conservationists who are considered radicals now, it is Newt Gingrich.

That's the good news. The bad news is, of course, that even in the light of changing attitudes, public support and new momentum, things are still getting increasingly worse. Democrats, eg President Clinton, rather than being a barrier against bad legislation, are now a major threat with their own legislation. They seem intent on giving the timber, mining and grazing industry everything they want. Unbelievably, many of the largest environmental organizations in the country are going along with it, just to get more of these Democrats elected! It is no wonder that many environmentalists like David Brower are supporting the presidential candidacy of Ralph Nader. The message here is, if they want our vote, they must earn it.

And if that ain't bad enough, we are sometimes our own worst enemy. Grassroots organizations are still too inward looking. We need to focus our energy less on turf and personality conflicts and more on



old-fashioned grassroots organizing. We can alter the balance of power in this country by using language that unifies people and clearly presents our message. And of course, we have to focus our attention on the appropriate targets. In most cases, ecological destruction is caused by criminal corporate behavior and government refusal to curb it. Lifestyle and moral issues like the ones surrounding diet, meat-eating and hunting, religious or spiritual perceptions of wilderness and nature are all important and merit serious discussion. But this is not achieved by equating barnyards with Nazi concentration camps, fisherpeople or women with murderers, blaming all the ills of society on Judeo-Christianity or western thought, on white males, undocumented Mexican immigrants, computers or even television. This is not to say that any or all of these factors lack an ecological cost. All human activity has an ecological cost. But at the same time, all humans are potentially capable of contributing to a solution.

We should think very carefully before we make any of these issues a litmus test on whether or not someone is a good activist or a bad activist. It is impossible to determine the quality or quantity of someone's action by whether or not they put cheese on their pizza or believe Elvis is still alive. If they are actively involved in protecting the life-support system of planet Earth, then that should be good enough.

If the future looks bleak for the environment, then at least, it is looking better for our movement. For some of us, the next few months will be crucial. At the time of this writing the timber beasts are being held at bay by Earth First! activists in Warner Creek, Headwaters Grove, China Left and Cove/Mallard. To be sure, the corporate greedheads and their lackeys in the Forest Service will be planning a showdown at the barricades soon, with all the might in their arsenal. But we are ready for them, and the world is watching.

—MIKE ROSELLE

NM Gives ADC Welcome Mat

BY PAT WOLFF

New Mexico State Land Commissioner Ray Powell Jr. stunned New Mexico citizens July 9, when he announced that he is allowing federal Animal Damage Control (ADC) wildlife killers to resume their notorious operations on state trust lands.

Powell is allowing these taxpayer-financed agents to kill wildlife on behalf of ranchers in Chaves, Curry, DeBaca, Eddy, Lincoln, Lea and Roosevelt counties. This "foot in the door" is just the first step that could lead to ADC's eventual return to all state trust land.

Under the "new" policy, ADC will gun down animals from helicopters and airplanes and poison animals with M-44 sodium cyanide poison devices and the extremely toxic Compound 1080. They will also use snares and so-called "padded" traps, which the courts have determined to be just as cruel and injurious as regular traps.

Powell has justified the return of ADC as an alternative to "uncontrolled" killing by individual ranchers. What he fails to admit is that uncontrolled killing will continue, with or without ADC, since state law

allows ranchers to kill wildlife however and whenever they want. No politician in this state, including Powell, is fighting to change that law. Ultimately, ADC's taxpayer-funded killing just adds to the private slaughter already occurring.

Powell's decision to bring ADC back came after a series of secret meetings between Powell, ADC and the livestock industry. There was no public hearing or comment period to give citizens an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process, because Powell knows how controversial ADC is.

In June, the New Mexico Department of Agriculture charged ADC with violating the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA) by using M-44 sodium cyanide poisons in the Gila National Forest. New Mexico Department of Agriculture found six instances in which uncertified ADC applicators used M-44 devices. It also found at least five instances of M-44 devices set too close to a body of water, too close to a public road, without proper warning signs, without required notification of medical personnel and without documentation of losses of livestock to pred-

tors. Despite these crimes and other evidence of ADC's lawless nature, Powell is trusting ADC to police itself. This is the man who will lead ADC operations on state trust land.

Then there is the taxpayer subsidy issue. ADC was recently featured on the NBC news program "The Fleecing of America" as a taxpayer rip-off. In New Mexico alone, ADC spends over \$2 million in taxpayer dollars each year to kill thousands of wild animals to appease a handful of ranchers.

Having monitored ADC activities for five years, I know from firsthand experience that this agency is not accountable to the public. On June 10, for example, I walked into the Roswell ADC office and asked to see a public document—a copy of ADC's service agreement with sheep rancher/Congressman Joe Skeen. ADC Roswell director Larry Killgo told me I could not see this document because it had Skeen's unlisted phone number on it. I suggested that he black it out and give me a copy, but still he refused. "If you want to see this you'll have to file a Freedom of Information Act request," he said with a smile, knowing full well that I would have to wait several months for a response.

Killgo is quoted in the award-winning book *Incident at Eagle Ranch*, by Don Schueler about, ADC's shooting of bald eagles from helicopters in Texas:

"I like eagles" Killgo said. "I like to see them. I think they're a beautiful bird. But in sheep country they should be removed. One way or another." Killgo said. He is also quoted as saying: "We don't really consider it killing. We consider it management."

Despite the fact that predators are responsible for only about three percent of all cattle and calf losses, according to the USDA itself, and despite the fact that the majority of ranchers don't use ADC, this agency's operating budget increases every year.

Members of the public have not been heard on this issue, nor have the children who are supposed to be the financial beneficiaries of state trust land policies. Please challenge Commissioner Powell to hold public hearings and give all citizens a chance to express their opinions on this important issue. Let him know his backroom deal with ADC is not acceptable.

For more information, contact New West Research, POB 9701, Santa Fe, NM 87504; e-mail [NewWest@aol.com](mailto>NewWest@aol.com).

August-September 1996 *Earth First!* Page 23

The Oregon Resource Conservation Act: Hatfield's Opal Creek Bill Falls Short

BY MICHAEL DONNELLY

Early this year, I spent many hours over the course of a couple months as a member of Sen. Mark O. Hatfield's Opal Creek Working Group. This body was set up to see if the Willamette University Dispute Resolution Department could work out an agreement between conservationists and the timber industry on a proposal for protection of Opal Creek.

So, five conservationists—Regna Merritt, Oregon Natural Resources Council (ONRC); Marty McCall, Friends of Opal Creek (FOC); Russ Hoeflich, The Nature Conservancy (TNC); George Atiyeh, founder (now estranged) of Friends of Opal Creek and myself—met with five timber representatives and an audience of seventeen big timber politicians and bureaucrats... about an even fight.

Somehow, this all led to Hatfield introducing the Oregon Resource Conservation Act, commonly known as Hatfield's Opal Creek Bill. The bill split the movement, with the current FOC and TNC wholeheartedly in support and George, myself and most of the original defenders of Opal Creek opposed and ONRC somewhere in the middle.

The misguided supporters appear to have accepted the half-a-loaf strategy that has long permeated and undermined the forest protection movement. I believe there are many reasons to question whether this is the right vehicle to protect Opal Creek, before anyone else gives blanket acceptance of this flawed legislation.

The Original Protection Plan

Long-time defenders of Opal Creek have long had a simple proposal: protection of the entire Little North Fork Santiam River drainage from ridgeline to ridgeline, from the headwaters of Opal Lake to the Forest Service boundary—about 31,000 acres of unprotected lands, and we've always included another 4,000 acres out of the drainage but contiguous special lands in the Breitenbush River drainage.

What is so radical about asking for protection of the sole remaining undammed native salmon and steelhead river in the Willamette system? The City Council of Salem voted 9 to 0 in favor of the entire proposal as it also is the Salem watershed. How is it that Salem is more radical and so far ahead of the Friends of Opal Creek?

The 2/3rds Loaf

Hatfield's basic proposal would create a 12,800-acre Opal Creek Wilderness, with an additional 7,500 acres (currently in the Bull-of-the-Woods Wilderness) getting a name change and transfer into the new Opal Creek Wilderness. He also proposes a 13,000-acre National Scenic Area along the Little North Fork and designation of the spectacular Elkhorn Creek as a wild and scenic river. This totals about 25,800 new acres to be protected in some form, leaving out Breitenbush lands and the Big Cedar Creek area—site of a proposed copper mine.

It's hard to tell how many acres actually get full protection, as the bill changes almost daily. (For example, on July 25 language was added stating that one of the two purposes of the bill is: "to protect and support the economy of the timber dependent communities in the Santiam Canyon." Huh? What the hell does that mean?) But assuming that the Scenic lands are inviolate (admittedly, a big assumption), it appears that 25,800 of the original 35,000 acres will be protected under the bill.

The Opal Creek Toxic Waste Dump

In a related issue, the Friends of Opal Creek, the US Forest Service, the Persis Corporation and the state DEQ have tentatively reached an agreement on how to dispose of 5,500 cubic yards of toxic mine tailings left over from the 1930s that currently are stored on Forest Service land along Battle Ax Creek in the proposed wilderness area. This bizarre plan calls for moving the tailings an 1/8th of a mile to a site along Opal Creek on land donated to the Friends in 1993. The tailings would be sealed with cement and encased in a rubber bladder, less than 300 feet from

Opal Pool. The 7/10s of an acre of hard-won FOC land would then be deeded back to the Forest Service and become part of the National Scenic Area.

Another issue is the Friends of Opal Creek's development plans for the Jawbone Flats area. Persis donated the 15 acres with the historic mining camp at the confluence of Opal and Battle Ax Creeks to the FOC in 1993, along with 175 acres elsewhere in the drainage. Since there has been no public hearing for the area, we know little other than that the FOC's plan to remove some historic buildings and artifacts and construct new facilities in the furtherance of their planned "Forest Institute" (the Starvation Mill is already being torn down). A full public process is the least that defenders of Opal Creek should demand before any more dismantling, removal and preparation for new construction go forward.

Christmas Presents for Industry

Even as he seeks to greenwash himself as he goes out the door, Hatfield can't resist handing out a smorgasbord of goodies for industry. Consequently, he has attached a series of extraneous provisions to the Opal Creek bill, each of which is enough to poison the entire measure. Even if the 2/3rds could somehow be deemed acceptable, these provisions certainly are reason enough to oppose the legislation. The provisions are:

1) Coquille Tribal Forest

The bill directs the Secretary of the Interior to transfer 5,000 acres of federal land near Coos Bay to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in trust for the Coquille tribe, which would get revenue from timber sales and other uses of the land. The major concern here is the precedent it would create and that the proposal looks like an attempt to circumvent laws governing federal lands logging.

2) Upper Klamath Basin/Deschutes Basin

The bill creates two five-year pilot projects that direct the Secretary of Interior to work with local citizens' groups to recommend ways to restore these areas. It provides \$5 million in matching funds to carry out the restoration projects. The big concern here is that the Klamath advisory group represents mostly resource extraction interests and leaves out California enviros and commercial fishing interests.

3) Bull Run

The bill supposedly creates tougher logging restrictions in Bull Run, Portland's watershed, ignoring the fact that logging should not occur in Bull Run at all. It does not give any protective status to the Little Sandy River which has been a goal of defenders of Bull Run for decades.

4) Mount Hood

The bill authorizes the exchange of 3,500 acres in the Mount Hood corridor. The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) would swap land southwest of Eugene with the Longview Fibre Company so that clearcuts wouldn't mar the view of tourists traveling on roads near Mt. Hood, but would take place instead in out-of-the-way areas.

5) Umpqua River

The bill authorizes \$2 million to help facilitate land exchanges between the federal government and timber companies in the Umpqua drainage. Once again, the potential for mischief here merits concern. If history is any indication, get ready for another fleecing of taxpayer assets.

Newt's Bunn in DC's End Game

When the bill passes the Senate

and gets to the House, Rep. Jim Bunn (R-OR) has vowed to attach an amendment that would transfer 2.5 million acres of BLM land (former Oregon and California Railroad land grants) to the State of Oregon. The amendment guarantees local counties 50 percent of any timber revenue from cutting some of the last remaining islands of low-elevation old growth. This 50 percent of the revenue is guaranteed to the counties even if it costs the state more than the remaining 50 percent to "manage" the lands. This plan is even opposed by the big timber lackeys at the State Department of Forestry and the Governor.

What's Next?

It's entirely possible that Hatfield will have to drop the attachments to the bill in order for it to have any chance of passing. He will likely attach just the Opal Creek part as a rider to an appropriations bill—ramrodding it through the legislative process.

Or, in his desperation to greenwash his decades-long creation of millions of acres of stumplands, Hatfield may *push* it through as is and even accept Bunn's awful transfer. If that happens, it will be very interesting to see where FOC and TNC line up.

Probably, Hatfield will introduce the bill and pass it through the Senate just before the August recess. Then, when Congress comes back a month later, there will be little time for Bunn or anyone else to monkey with it and Hatfield will get whatever he wants.

Many people have spent years fighting to protect the Opal Creek/Little North Fork ecosystem. Many are not adverse to waiting it out even longer, to see if we can get a stand-alone piece of legislation that would save the entire area—ridgeline to ridgeline. This special part of Salem's watershed, this land so many have fought to preserve for so long, this land that has been featured as a microcosm of the entire ancient forest issue—the subject of a book and two major documentaries, this sacred place must be



photo by Trig Steen

Franklin Grove at Opal Creek

GLOBAL WARMING AND CORPORATE LIES

BY ROSS GELSPAN

Reports of changes in the world's climate have been with us for fifteen or twenty years, most urgently since 1988, when Dr. James Hansen, director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies, declared that the era of global warming was at hand. New record-setting weather extremes seem to have become as commonplace as traffic accidents, and three simple facts have long been known: the distance from the surface of the earth to the far edge of the inner atmosphere is only twelve miles, the annual amount of carbon dioxide forced into that limited space is six billion tons; and the ten hottest years in recorded human history have all occurred since 1980. The facts beg a question that is as simple to ask as it is hard to answer. What do we do with what we know?

The question became more pointed last September, when the 2,500 climate scientists serving in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change issued a new statement on the prospect of forthcoming catastrophe. The panel flatly announced that the earth had entered a period of climatic instability likely to cause "widespread economic, social and environmental dislocation over the next century." The continuing emission of greenhouse gases would create protracted, crop-destroying droughts in continental interiors, a host of new and recurring diseases, hurricanes of extraordinary malevolence, and rising sea levels that could inundate island nations and low-lying coastal rims on the continents. Never before had the IPCC (called into existence in 1988) come to so unambiguous a conclusion. Always in years past there had been people saying that we didn't yet know enough, or that the evidence was problematical, or our system of computer simulation was subject to too many uncertainties. Not this year.

The same week that the statement was issued, the island of St. Thomas was blasted to shambles by one of thirteen hurricanes that roiled the Caribbean this fall. Scientists speak the language of probability. They prefer to avoid making statements that cannot be further correlated, reinterpreted, modified or proven wrong. If (last) September's announcement was uncharacteristically bold, possibly it was because the IPCC scientists understood that they were addressing their remarks to people profoundly unwilling to hear what they had to say.

That resistance is understandable, given the immensity of the stakes. The energy industries now constitute the largest single enterprise known to humanity. Moreover, they are invisible from automobile, farming, shipping, air freight, and banking interests, as well as from the governments dependent on oil revenues for their very existence. With annual sales in excess of one trillion dollars and daily sales of more than two billion dollars, the oil industry alone supports the economics of the Middle East and large segments of the economies of Russia, Mexico, Venezuela, Nigeria, Indonesia, Norway, and Great Britain. Restrictions on the consumption of oil and coal will have devastating effects on the global economy—unem-

ployment, depression, and social breakdown, and ultimately war. It is no wonder that for the last five or six years many of the world's politicians and most of the world's news media have been promoting the perception that the worries about the weather are overwrought. Ever since the IPCC first set out to devise strategies whereby the nations of the world might reduce their carbon dioxide emissions to avoid or minimize a four to five degree rise in average global temperature, the energy industry has been conducting a ferocious public relations campaign meant to sell the notion that science is always a matter of uncertainty.

Skeptics have repeatedly pointed out that although the world's output of carbon dioxide has exploded since 1940, there has been no corresponding increase in the global temperature. The larger scientific community, by contrast, holds that this is due to the masking effect of low-level sulfur particulates, which exert a temporary cooling effect on the earth, and to a time lag in the oceans' absorption and release of carbon dioxide.

Yet on reading the news from the IPCC, one must wonder how the oil company publicists would confront the most recent series of geophysical events and scientific findings. To wit:

- A 48-by-22-miles chunk of Larsen Ice Shelf in the Antarctic broke off last March, exposing rocks that had been buried for 20,000

years, prompting Rodolfo del Valle of the Argentine Antarctic Institute to tell the Associated Press, "Last November we predicted the ice shelf would crack in 10 years, but it has happened in barely two months."

- In April, researchers discovered a 70 percent decline in the population of zooplankton off the coast of southern California, raising the questions about the survival of several species of fish that feed on it. Scientists have linked the change to a one to two degree Centigrade increase in the surface water temperature over the last four decades.

- A recent series of articles in the *Lancet*, a British medical journal, linked changes in climate patterns to the spread of infectious diseases around the world. The *Aedes aegypti* mosquitoes are now being reported at 1,150 meters in Costa Rica and at 2,200 meters in Colombia. Ocean warming has triggered algae blooms linked to outbreaks of cholera in India, Bangladesh, and Pacific coast of South America, where, in 1991, the disease infected more than 400,000 people.

- Scientists previously believed that the transitions between ice ages and more moderate climatic periods occur gradually, over centuries. But researchers from the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, examining deep ocean sediment and ice core samples, found that these shifts, with their temperature changes of up to seven de-

grees Centigrade, have occurred within three to four decades—a virtual nanosecond in geological time. Over the last 70,000 years, the earth's climate has snapped into radically different temperature regimes. "Our results suggest that the present climate system is very delicately poised," said researcher Scott Lehman. "Shifts could happen very rapidly if conditions are right, and we cannot predict when that will occur." His cautionary tone is underscored by findings that the end of the last ice age, some 8,000 years ago, was preceded by a series of extreme oscillations in which severe regional deep freezes alternated with warming spikes. As the North Atlantic warmed, Arctic snow melts and increased rainfall diluted the salt content of the ocean, which, in turn, redirected the ocean's warming current from a northeasterly direction to one that ran nearly due east. Should such an episode occur today, say researchers, "the present cli-

early into public relations outlets to downplay the threat of climatic change. For the most part the industry has relied on a small band of skeptics—Dr. Richard S. Lindzen, Dr. Pat Michaels, Dr. Robert Balling, Dr. Sherwood Idso, and Dr. S. Fred Singer, among others, who have proven extraordinarily adept at draining the issue of all sense of crisis. Through their frequent pronouncements in the press and on radio and television, they have helped to create the illusion that the question is hopelessly mired in unknowns. Most damaging has been their influence on decision makers; their contrarian views have allowed conservative Republicans such as Representative Dana Rohrabacher (R—CA) to dismiss legitimate research concerns as "liberal claptrap" and have provided the basis for budget cuts to government science programs designed to monitor the health of the planet.

Spokespersons ranging from Vice President Al Gore to scientists testifying before the US Congress have alleged that the outcome of scientific inquiry is influenced by sources financing the research. Unlike campaign financing from political action committees to individual candidates, scientists are not required to disclose their funding prior to testifying before Congress or offering comment before the media.

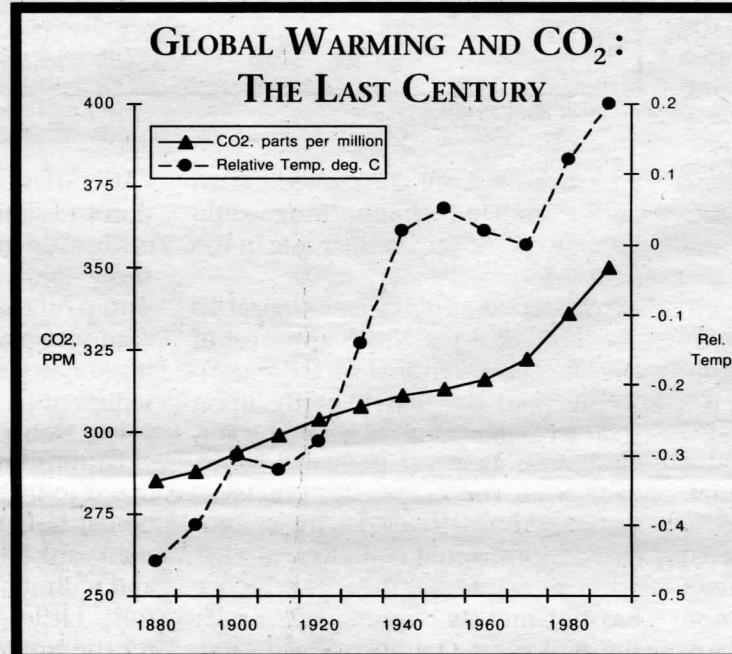
At the IPCC conference in Berlin, delegations from 170 nations met to negotiate targets and timetables for reducing the world's carbon dioxide emissions. The efforts of the conference were hampered by the United States and Japan and active resistance from the OPEC nations. Leading the fight for the most dramatic reductions, to

60 percent of 1990 levels, was a coalition of small island nations from the Caribbean and the Pacific that fear being flooded out of existence. They were supported by most western European governments, but China and India, with their vast coal resources, argued that until the United States significantly cuts its own emissions, their obligation to develop their own economies outranked their obligation to the global environment. In the end, OPEC, supported by the United States, Japan, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, rejected calls to limit emission prematurely.

The leaders of the oil and coal industry, along with their skeptical, well-paid scientists, relentlessly accuse environmentalists of overstating the climatic threat to destroy capitalism...technology changes the way we conceive of the world. To transform our economy would oblige us to understand the limits of the planet. That understanding alone might seed the culture with a more organic concept of ourselves and our connectedness to the earth.

For more information, contact Kilee Kreider, Ozone Action, 1621 Connecticut Ave NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 265-6738, fax 202-986-6041.

This is an condensed and edited version from Harper's Magazine, December 1995. Additional information was obtained from Kilee Kreider's Climate Change Backlash Report.



mate of Britain and Norway would change suddenly to that of Greenland."

- In a paper published in *Science* in April, David J. Thomson, of the AT&T Bell Laboratories, concluded that the six-degree Centigrade warming of the average global temperature over the past century correlates directly with the buildup of atmospheric carbon dioxide. Separate findings by a team of scientists at National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's National Climatic Data Center indicate that growing weather extremes in the United States are due to rising levels of greenhouse gases with 90 percent confidence. These items (and many like them) would seem to be alarming news, worthy of a national debate or the sustained attention of Congress. But the signs have been largely ignored, or qualified with the observation that the question of global warming never can be conclusively resolved. The confusion is intentional, expensively gift wrapped by the energy industries.

The people who run the world's oil and coal companies know that the march of science, and of political action, may be slowed by disinformation. By keeping the discussion focused on whether there is a problem in the first place, they have effectively silenced the debate over what to do about it.

The coal and oil industry and governments economically dependent on coal and oil pump millions of dollars

Nez Perce National Forest Violations Exposed

BY GARY MACFARLANE

Twelve environmental groups submitted a report outlining problems with the Cove/Mallard timber sales in the Nez Perce National Forest to the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS), US Environmental Protection Agency, and Secretary of the US Department of Agriculture.

Through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests, representatives from Friends of the Clearwater and The Ecology Center of Missoula, Montana found evidence that the Nez Perce NF misled NMFS regarding road building and logging activities, and failed to comply with environmental laws.

In 1994, NMFS issued a biological opinion that Nez Perce NF should postpone proposed road building and timber harvest activities associated with the Jack Timber Sale until the Interior Columbia River Basin Assessment Environmental Impact Statement has been completed. Furthermore, the Regional Office of the Forest Service in Missoula requested the Nez Perce NF Supervisor respond in writing to NMFS if it could not implement Conservation Recommendations. FOIA requests have found no evidence of a response being given to this request. The Nez Perce NF has ignored the NMFS request.

In light of Forest Service communication with NMFS during January 1995, on issues pertaining to compliance with the Biological Opinion, it is clear that the Forest Service wanted to continue with "ongoing projects" prior to approval of the monitoring plan mandated by the Biological Opinion. (It is also clear the Forest Service stated that the Jack sale was not ongoing in March of 1995. In the Main Salmon River Tributaries (Northeast) 1995 Annual Report to NMFS the Forest Service said, "No activity has occurred in the Jack timber sale area as of March 1, 1995."

Prior to mid-June 1995, no road construction was done on the Jack sale. It could not be considered an ongoing project.

In summary, NMFS knew that the Jack sale was not ongoing when the Biological Opinion was issued in August 1994. The Forest Service admitted on March 1, 1995 that no activity had occurred on the Jack sale and only asked for interpretation and clarification to allow "continuing of ongoing

projects" in its January letters to NMFS. There was no Forest Service reply to the contrary about the Biological Opinion's recommendation that activity be deferred on the Jack timber sale. This information would certainly lead a NMFS administrator, located in

1996 (or 1995) annual monitoring report was provided. Evidently, the required monitoring was not done.

The report submitted by the environmental groups included photos and video documentation of improperly marked cutting units in violation of

measures would be used and would be effective. The photos show that is not the case.

The contractor began construction on the Jack sale spur roads—projects which were not completed in 1995—prior to the June 15 beginning date in the timber sale contract. We are very concerned about sedimentation, especially with the above-normal precipitation during this past year. Road construction caused extensive damage in wet areas and sediment slash buffers are incomplete.

Nez Perce NF's lack of concern with National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and the Endangered Species Act (ESA) became evident the moment the ink was dry on the Records of Decision for the Cove and Mallard projects. In response to the US Fish and Wildlife Service's request that delays in scheduling be implemented for the Rhett, Noble and the Rabbit sales for "conservation of the gray wolf," the Forest Service stated:

"Rescheduling the sales after 1995 and assessing the impacts would not be within the scope of the analysis in the Cove EIS. The interdisciplinary team concluded that a site-specific EIS with projects extending over eight to ten years would be almost certain to require supplementation if not complete revision in light of new information or changed circumstances or both."

While the Forest Service usually considers five years the maximum time for implementation of site-specific projects, the rest of the statement shows that the Forest Service has further violated its own policy regarding NEPA and the ESA. The listing of salmon as "endangered" clearly constituted "changed circumstances" under NEPA's own definition. However, no supplemental EIS has been written. The Records of Decision further states if "sales were to be rescheduled later in the planning decade, the rescheduling could not be done in the Cove EIS." Still, that is precisely what has happened with the so-called delays, be they caused by the listing of the salmon, the usual slow pace of bureaucracies, or any other reason.

The Cove/Mallard resistance is entering its fifth year of direct action in defense of the Big Wild. To get involved, contact the Cove/Mallard Coalition at POB 8968, Moscow, Id 83843; (208) 882-9755; e-mail: cove@moscow.com. Visit our web site at: <http://www.misc.org/cove/>

IT'S JACK SQUAT

continued from page 1

had been done at the blockade; another gave the activists a rating of "ten." The so-called Rainbow gathering regulations, which restrict gatherings of more than 75 people, were not enforced at the Rendezvous site either. The last thing the Freddies wanted to do was attract the attention of a few hundred Earth First!ers and other allied eco-activists.

Against this backdrop, the nocturnal Big Pink Bunnies began their work. It seems these mammals, who apparently love to rehabilitate noxious roads, are most prevalent around Earth First!-type gatherings. Whether they be extraordinarily large lagomorphs, dream-time dopplegangers or committed activists, these critters are Goddess-sent. Night after night during the Round River Rendezvous, while the RRR revelers were all snug in their bedrolls, serious road restoration (can you say ripping!?), curious windfall, and mysterious rune writing took place on, in, and around the Jack Creek road. Tank traps and ditches evolved, a 25-foot section of road was ripped out, and two log cabins appeared on the road! There were even rumors of rousing music accompanying the busy denizens of the night.

This rendezvous was a precedent setter. An ongoing action took place

nearby, one in which it seems the whole movement became involved. Many rendezvous attendees walked the overland route or drove to the Jack Sale area, saw gorgeous views of the Big Wild, and vowed to help Cove/Mallard activists continue to hold the Jack Road.

On Monday, July 8, a horde of activists visited the Red River Ranger Station, intent on saving Cove/Mallard. District Ranger Ed Wood was not there to address the citizens. He was on vacation, packing for the river. Rumor has it he will "retire" by the end of the field season if not sooner. Ranger Ed must enjoy going down the river.

Interestingly, the road contractor was supposed to finish work by July 12 but apparently was willing to give it up rather than deal with us. They started roadbuilding a week earlier than they were supposed to, probably to make up for lost time during the rendezvous week. However, a week after the rendezvous was over, the Freddies still weren't willing to bust activists on the road or post a closure.

You can still help even if you didn't make it to the RRR. Come this summer to Cove/Mallard or join the roadless rescue tour that will travel to other Wild Rockies hot spots. Don't forget your pick and shovel. The geological formation underlying the Big Wild is the igneous Idaho Batholith: there's gold in them thar' hills. For more information contact the Cove/Mallard Coalition at POB 8968, Moscow, ID 83843; (208) 882-9755.

HOLLYWOOD COMES TO THE ANCIENT FORESTS

Baywatch Star Visits China Left Road Blockade

On July 18, television star Alexandra Paul visited the site of the China Left blockade to lend her support to ancient forest protection efforts. Ms. Paul, who plays the character of Lt. Stephanie Holden on the most watched television show in the world, "Baywatch," is known for her work on overpopulation and nuclear testing issues. Her concern about the fate of ancient forests has increased with the recent passage of the Salvage Rider, and the subsequent acceleration of logging on public lands.

"China Left is exactly the type of logging that should not happen on our National Forests," stated Ms. Paul. She continued, "The news has been full of reports of the decline of wild salmon. China Left

will only hasten the extinction of these magnificent and awe-inspiring creatures. Why does the US Forest Service continue to degrade the habitat of threatened species?"

Ms. Paul was aghast that the US Fish & Wildlife Service is allowing the Forest Service the "incidental take" of two pairs of spotted owls at China Left. "I am stumped," she said. "I grew up thinking the Forest Service and Fish & Wildlife Service were out there protecting our national forests. Instead, they are paving the way for private interests to make their profit by destroying our national heritage."

Ms. Paul toured the China Left blockade, lending her moral support and gathering information to take back to other concerned Hollywood celebri-

ties. She was excited about her visit: "These activists are the real celebrities, the real heroes. This is unglamorous, dangerous work that they are doing from their hearts. That shows qualities that have sadly become all too rare in this world. It does my heart good to see these young people acting with such integrity and courage."

To get to the blockade: From Hwy. 199 in Cave Junction, drive east on Caves Hwy. (Hwy. 46) nine miles to FS road 4612. Follow 4612 for another eight miles until reaching FS road 080 on the left. Park beyond the gate and walk up road 080 for 1/2 mile.

For more information contact the Siskiyou Forest Defenders, POB 400, Williams, OR 97544; (541) 732-3101.

China Left Road(less Area) Expansion Project Scheduled for Completion

continued from page 1

claim, "Cumulative impacts from the China Left timber sale and past clearcut logging would raise sediment levels in the streams to 48% above natural levels." The Forest Service receives a dubious "benefit" from ignoring their own advice. For example, a 1973 report stated that high-elevation clearcuts in the Siskiyou were plagued with reforestation failures: "Above 4,100 feet, clearcutting is questionable from a solar radiation standpoint. Above 5,000 feet it is out of the question." All units in China Left are above 4,000 feet with some units reaching over 5,000 feet. And one needn't look far across the valley to see evidence of clearcuts from the 60s, which remain weedlots to this day.

While nobody is defending the merits of this timber sale (except our friends at Rough & Ready Lumber), the masses are rallying to defend the merits of clean streams and wild forests. This became apparent to the Forest Service after the 4th of July weekend. They realized upon walking up FS Road 080 that things were ominously out of whack. Their own gate was locked shut. Stone walls had manifested in the middle of the road. As they climbed, things only got worse. They came across ditches in the road, one of which was over 5 feet deep. Then they came to a rock-and-concrete wall with multiple lock-boxes (for locking one's arm to), then a couple of 20-foot-high tripods, more walls fitted with sharpened spears (for the "Braveheart" effect) and a '78 Bonneville (sans wheels) sitting above a buried dragon (a.k.a. a cement filled barrel with a lock box). Oh yeah, they also discovered about 40 dedicated forest defenders who seemed to have no intention of letting the Forest Service carry out any timber sales there.

Being good public servants, the Freddies took immediate action. They cut the foreign lock off the gate at the bottom of the road, thereby gaining access to about 100 yards of FS Road 080. Unfortunately, by the time they returned the next day, the gate was locked once more, this time encased in several feet of concrete on both ends. Like so many of their Forest Service brethren, these agents were witnessing a strange new geological force at work. As seen at Warner Creek, and now Cove/Mallard as well, their roads are being undermined. Like all systems contrived and ordered by disturbed human minds, roads are in opposition to natural forces. Call it entropy. Call it a return to balance. The Freddies are calling it a problem—which is why forest activists are urgently needed. Right now the campaign needs motivated people (and money, of course) to help maintain the blockade. Come spend some time in the beautiful Siskiyou mountains and drink the clear waters of Sucker Creek. Connect with this wild landscape and meditate on the need for roads into pristine ancient forests.

See the above article for the address of the Siskiyou Forest Defenders (donations appreciated) and for directions to the Siskiyou Free State at Sucker Creek.

(At press time, Rough and Ready began to cut Unit 4, the only unit not protected by the blockade. As roadless, ancient forests fall, it is imperative that the entire Sucker Creek drainage receive our utmost support.—MB)



This beautiful car could be yours! Or you could bring your car here. Vehicle maintenance performed at Sucker Creek free of charge!

photo by Jonathan Paul

Animal Damage (out of) Control

Wild Wasatch Front EF! of Brigham, Utah calls for an immediate halt to all Animal Damage Control (ADC) wildlife killing and the immediate removal of all traps, snares, M-44's, and other killing devices now in place. ADC is the death squad of the Agriculture Department. It's primary function is to respond to rancher complaints by destroying all predators deemed troublesome by the powerful ranching lobby. ADC routinely kills coyotes and other predators perceived as threats by western ranchers, without verifying livestock losses.

In 1994 ADC spent \$10 million, more than a third of its total budget, destroying predators in the name of livestock protection. According to ADC's own inadequate records for 1994, they murdered 85,571 coyotes, 8,973 foxes, 1,928 bobcats, 293 mountain lions and 163 black bears. Using traps, snares,

poisons and aerial guns, ADC killers have continued to kill predators that otherwise would play a critical role in maintaining healthy ecosystems.

According to a 1990 General Accounting Office report, ADC field agents in Utah shot coyotes on grazing allotments leased by the US Forest Service even though on 60 percent of those allotments there was no evidence that coyotes had killed sheep during the previous grazing season.

ADC hit men destroy thousands of other "nontarget" animals, some of them endangered, as well as species that are the linchpins holding entire ecosystems together. For example, ADC and ranchers poisoned an estimated 94,972 prairie dogs in one year in Nebraska alone to make way for agriculture and livestock. More than 100 other species, including badgers, swift and kit foxes, hawks, burrowing owls, and black-

footed ferrets, depend on prairie dogs as prey or use their burrows for shelter.

ADC couldn't care less about the toll poisoning takes on the health of natural ecosystems. They take their orders directly from Congress and the powerful ranch lobby represented by the likes of Orrin Hatch, James Hansen, Enid Green, Robert Bennett and Bill Orton.

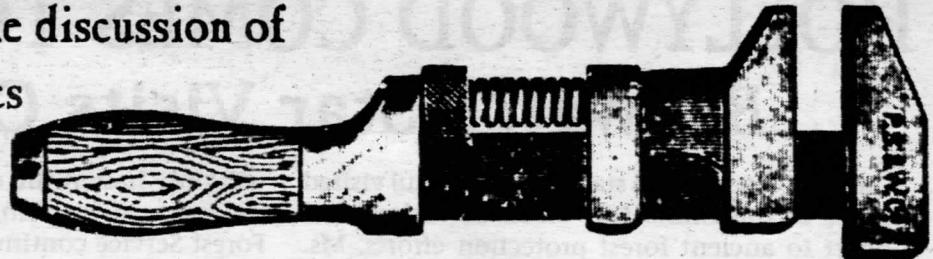
The debate over ADC's purpose boils down to three questions: Should the federal government subsidize the killing of predators to protect privately owned livestock? To whom is the agency accountable? Do its benefits outweigh its profound ecological liabilities? There is a certain hypocrisy in the fact that ranchers affiliated with the Wise Use movement want the federal government to stay out of their lives where the Endangered Species Act is concerned, yet also want government predator control. Why should you and I be required to pay for protecting a private rancher's lambs on federal land (our land)?

In 1993, a group of conservationists, ranchers, scientists and apparel manufacturers came together with the intention of finding alternatives to killing. The result was the formation of Predator Friendly Wool, an organization in Montana that pays wool growers higher prices for their raw fleece if they agree to refrain from killing coyotes for the entire calendar year prior to spring shearing. The theory is that the higher returns will more than offset any increase in sheep losses to coyotes.

To help stop ADC's war on wildlife, write to the Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman and members of Congress at 14th St. & Independence Ave. SW, Washington, DC 20250. Demand that the indiscriminate killing of wildlife on federal land be stopped immediately. Unless you can outspend the Utah Farm Bureau, it will do no good to talk to our Utah Delegation. For more information on ADC contact Wildlife Damage Review at POB 85218, Tucson, AZ 85754; (520) 884-0883.

Ned Ludd

Ned Ludd is an open forum for the discussion of monkeywrenching and other tactics useful to the struggle against the modern industrial juggernaut.



CULVERTS: PULL 'EM, DON'T PLUG 'EM

BY N. SCRUTABLE

While strolling along a rather controversial Forest Service road the other day, I came across a culvert that had been deliberately plugged up with rocks and debris. The thinking had evidently been that the water that would have gone through the culvert would now wash over the road and gradually erode it away, making the road impassable to logging trucks and other vermin. While displays of enmity toward roads and the species that find them useful are certainly understandable, the action of plugging culverts also brings about a number of ecologically unpleasant effects that should be seriously considered by any midnight recreationist.

To understand what happens when culverts don't work, one should first consider what happens when they do work. Culverts are installed for two primary reasons: first, because roads cross streams occasionally, and second, because roads generally screw up natural drainage patterns. Culverts at stream crossings act as cheap bridges and let the water flow under the road without picking up sediment at the road-stream intersection. Culverts located mid slope are often called relief culverts, and their job is to restore some natural drainage. These culverts collect water from the inside ditch and pass it under the road and down the hill, where it will theoretically be soaked up by soil and vegetation and separated from the sediments it bears.

When you plug a culvert at a stream crossing, the result is immediate and obvious: the road forms a dam in the stream, and the water goes about the business of eroding the road away bit by bit, cutting its way down to the original stream bed. If things go well, this will be gradual and will only slice out a thin section of the road, and add only a few cubic yards of sediment to the stream (roughly the same amount that you screamed about when the road was built in the first place). If things do not go well, the road bed at the crossing will become saturated and will fall off of the hillside like a big lump of wet cement. If things go *really* badly, the lump of wet road bed will start a debris torrent in the creek. This will tear out the stream bed all the way down the mountainside and deposit tons of soil, brush, trees and boulders at the mouth of the stream. This is not pretty (the accompanying photo illustrates the result when a culvert happened to be plugged naturally), particularly for the fish attempting to live and spawn in that huge pile of muck you and the road just put in the river below.

When you plug a relief culvert, the results may not be so immediate or obvious, but may be just as catastrophic for fish. The next time there is a big storm, or next spring when there is plenty of snow melt, water will likely run down the inside ditch all the way to the nearest stream, merrily picking up road sediment along the way. Or, water will simply soak into the road bed or run over the road,

causing the same sort of mess that can happen at stream crossings.

Short of lobbing dirt clods into the creek, there is no more effective way of adding sediment to a watercourse than by plugging culverts. So, I say, don't do it. Ever.

Removing culverts altogether, though, is an entirely different matter. When culverts are installed, they generally come pretty close to following the natural contour of the land. If you dig one up, what you have left is a ditch that is more or less where the natural drainage occurred in the first place. The trick is making this ditch large enough to accommodate peak stream flows and letting the water find its natural course without adding a bunch of that nasty road sediment to it.

Here's how you can do it:

1) Working at low stream flow (usually late summer or fall), dig a trench in the road several feet to the side of the culvert. Skip this step and go to step 3 if you are working on a relief culvert that's already dry this time of year. Line the new trench with some kind of plastic (go to K-Mart and get one of those long plastic sheets you spread out on the lawn and run water down so kids can jump on and go sliding across).

2) Divert the stream into your plastic-lined trench. Plastic sheets draped over something solid work pretty well for a temporary diversion dam.

3) Dig up the culvert, which should now be dry. Don't forget to punch a few good sized holes in it if you are opposed to culvert reuse. [Ed. note-For other creative uses of culverts, see the Jack article on front page.]

4) Enlarge the trench the culvert was in to about five times as big as the most water you could ever imagine coming down the stream. THINK BIG. The culvert itself was generally adequate to handle 10 or 25 year high flows if it was old, or 50

to 100 year high flows if it was new. You want your reclaimed stream bed to last forever.

5) Try to get as much fine soil out of the culvert trench as you can. It's best if you can get it down to bare rock, or fill the trench back in a bit with cobble-sized rocks.

6) When you are happy that the old culvert trench is BIG and the bottom is made of rock, not dirt, divert the stream back from your slip 'n' slide.

7) Install a nice sign reminding drivers that the road is closed.

8) Go to work forcing the Forest Service to do all this hard work so you don't have to, and remind them to return the entire road to contour, not just pull the culverts.



CONTROVERSIAL TIMBER SALE ALLEGEDLY SPIKED

Robbie Freres, owner of Freres Lumber Co., claims that twelve-inch steel and ceramic tree spikes were found in logs from the controversial Santiam Canyon old-growth timber sale, "Red 90." Freres claims that milling the spikes caused several thousand dollars worth of damage, but no one was injured. The spikes allegedly damaged a lathe.

So far, no one has been killed or injured as a result of hitting a spike with a chain saw or mill equipment.

According to Mr. Freres, his

millworkers found three spikes in late June while peeling logs at the Freres veneer plant in Lyons, east of Salem.

The logs were harvested from Red 90, a sale near Detroit, Oregon that had been released under the federal salvage rider. The company started logging the sale in June, about six weeks after an April 27 protest in the area that led to 28 arrests.

Mr. Freres appeared in Lebanon Justice Court on June 27 demanding restitution from the protesters. Between

now and then he must have decided to get it from the government. On July 11, the judge told defendants that there were "no allegations of any kind" against them for the spiking. He said this because Freres' appearance in court was loaded with allegations, but they were his and not the court's.

Two years ago, Robbie Freres billed the federal government \$32,800 after workers found dozens of spikes on a timber sale on Mary's Peak near Corvallis. The government reimbursed

roughly half the expenses attributable to the sabotage.

Freres Lumber Co. was convicted in the past of bid rigging and they already had a bad reputation in the local media. Now they want to make a quick buck off the government. The fact that no one is took credit for the spiking suggests that no environmentalists did it at all. In fact, at the trial in Lebanon, it was revealed that the alleged "spikes" were actually pieces of old barbed wire imbedded in the wood from years earlier.

BPODS: Forest health in the balance

Originally developed to overcome some of the weaknesses of the tripod, the bipod, (or "Bison" as it is affectionately known) is a more robust and technically more complicated device than its predecessor. This device is *very* dangerous if improperly constructed. Consequently, anyone considering one is advised to construct a practice one in a safe place first without the imminent threat of law enforcement. Contrary to most "brute force" blockades such as concrete-filled barrels, where stronger is better, bipods are blockades of finesse and frailty.

The Basic Principle

The two ropes or cables attached to the bipod are the primary blockade. If either of the two lines is cut or moved an uneven force is placed on the structure, collapsing it. The lines in the road are anchored sufficiently far to preclude the use of a boom truck in removing the bipod sitter.

The structure can't be lowered even if sufficiently strong tiedown lines are used. As the angle of the bipod with respect to the road surface decreases, the force on the tiedown lines and the structure's base increases *dramatically* and the structure becomes inherently unstable. The legs will kick out by the time the structure reaches 45 degrees. All this make the Bison an unlikely candidate for lowering.

Materials

(2) 30 inch sections of rebar
 (2) 100-foot (at a minimum) lengths of rope or cable
 85 feet prusikable line (1 inch)
 50 feet lashing line
 15 feet 1" tube webbing
 lots of barb wire or even better razor wire (handle *very* carefully with gloves)
 15d nails
 fence staples
 Rigged tree-sit platform

Tools

shovel
 climbing gear (harness, beeners, prusiks, etc.)
 bow saw
 limbing saw / hatchet
 hammer

Site Selection

The ideal placement for a bipod would be a narrow road where the Freddies couldn't doze or backfill around the obstruction due to a steep drop off or because the road had been "cut" into a hillside. Gates are natural targets because they are usually placed in such locations.

Construction

Step 1

Choose two green trees about 30 to 60 feet in length. Both should be roughly the same length and diameter. Ideally the base diameter should be about 12 inches. The top should never be less than six inches. The poles should be green conifer trees to avoid shattering. Alder and/or dry poles should be avoided due to their dangerous nature.

Step 2

Once the two trees are felled they must be limbed and then moved into position. Moving is most easily done by attaching a runner to the base (via a girth hitch) and dragging the poles.

The legs of the bipod should be armored to deter the Freddies and their timber beast friends from *wanting* to fool with them. Drive numerous four-to six-inch 15d nails from about three feet from the bottom of the legs to about 10 feet up. The nails should be driven at an angle, about 3/4 of the way in. Then, using a bolt cutter, cut the heads off at an angle to create a series of sharp tines spanning the length of the seven-foot area. Then wrap the lower 15 feet of the legs with copious amounts of barb/razor wire, using fence staples every six to eight inches to secure the wire to the legs.

Step 3

The two poles should be moved onto the road and lashed together about two feet from the top

A shallow depression should be dug for the legs to catch on once the poles are raised into place.

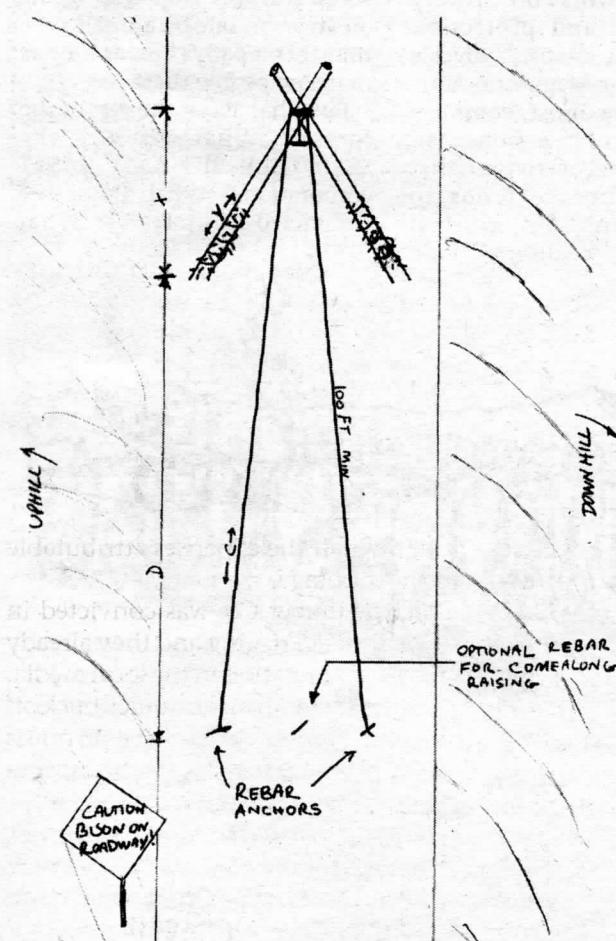
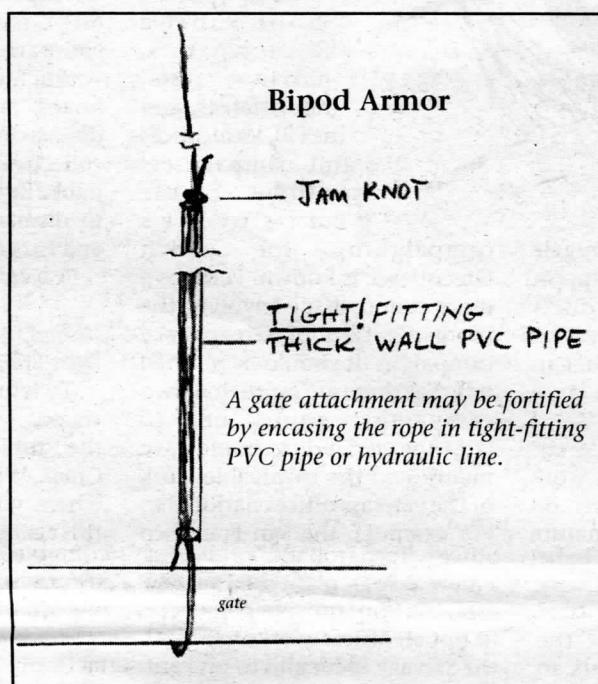
Step 4

A heavy rope approximately the same length as the legs should be attached to the lashing area. This rope will serve both to raise the structure and to provide a prusik line for the bipod sitter.

Step 5

The one-inch tube runner should also be affixed to the lash point; this will serve to support the bipod sitter's platform.

Attach the cables or ropes that will hold the structure up to the lash area. Care should be taken to keep them out of the armoring on the legs.



In feet				In pounds			
X	Y	C	D	Approximate Tension on C	Pole Weight	Total Weight	Minimum Rope Working Strength*
7	30	100	89	95	520	1240	200
10	40	100	83	140	700	1600	300
13	50	100	75	175	870	1940	400
15.5	60	100	67	225	1040	2280	500

*Remember to account for knot strength (or lack thereof).



photo by Cimarron

The original Bison, at the Warner Creek blockade

Step 6

Depending on the pole length, the distance of the rebar from the base of the structure should be as displayed in the table below.

Drive both pieces of rebar into the road bed at approximately a 45-degree angle with the road surface about 18 to 24 inches in depth so that they trisect the width of the road.

Step 7

Position people as necessary at the top of the bipod, while the remainder haul on the rope (attach prusiks to the rope to serve as hand holds). Lift the structure in place and secure the tie down ropes to either the rebar or the gate.

If a come-along is to be used to raise the structure, add a third piece of rebar midway between the other two to attach the come-along onto. If a gate is being used, be sure it is locked (with your lock) then attach the come-along to the gate structure. Come-alongs require less effort, but people power is faster.

Step 8

Cut the haul line to appropriate length to serve as a prusik line and send the bipod sitter, platform and supplies up.

WHO SHALL WIELD

continued from page 3

I've been around political activists of every stripe for decades, and believe that if you eliminated beer drinkers, pot smokers, tobacco addicts, or (fill in the blank) and their close friends in an attempt to meet a drug free standard of higher spiritual consciousness within almost any political organization, you'd have a bunch of conservative Southern Baptist- types who probably couldn't organize their way out of a paper bag.

Beginning with focusing attention on personal lifestyle issues that have little or nothing to do with external political effectiveness, and by opposing the development of political unity through socializing around a beer keg, we could logically branch out in other obvious directions. We could exclude not only the heathens who trouble Avalon by chanting and jumping naked over fires, but those who drive cars, non-vegetarians, those who have kids, leather shoes, etc.

And if we really want to do this thing up right, we could probably find revisionist anthropologists willing to claim that prehistoric societies never used alcohol or herbal drugs for religious or celebratory purposes. We could attack groups like the Native American Church who some may suppose use peyote only as a phony substitute for deep spiritual unity.

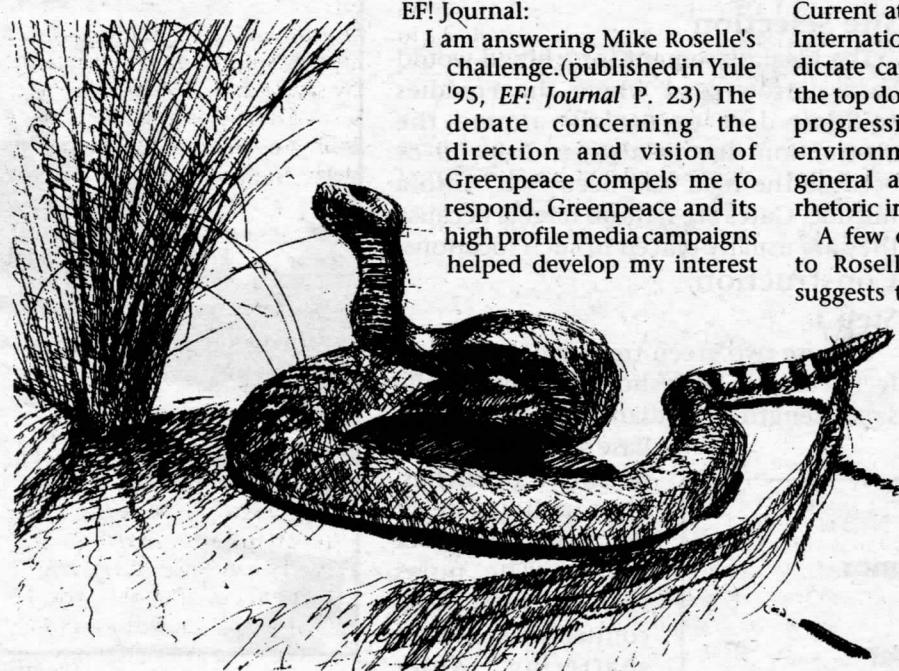
Arguably, if the feds wanted to sow the maximum amount of dissent among rank and file EF!ers, one of the easiest ways to do so would be to find a Native American agent who could effectively monkeywrench EF! traditions by imposing their own superior "Native American" values in order to guilt trip any EF!ers who like to drink beer with friends.

I urge those who believe a significant focus of Earth First! should be centered on personal lifestyle issues rather than opposing the sins of the giant industrial corporations to form a tiny puritanical little neo-religious cult of their very own. I predict the work of policing the correct consciousness within such a group would leave little time for political activism directed against what most of us can agree is a seriously troubled and spiritually deficient world.

Unrepentantly pro-choice,
—ROGER BAKER

Dear SFB:

People should be aware that Off-Highway Motor Vehicle Recreation Commissioner Don Amador is spreading nasty rumors about EF! to law



enforcement agencies. Amador is a wise-use flack appointed to the quasi-governmental OHV commission by Pete Wilson.

In a memo distributed in June, Amador reports:

"The following information was forwarded to my office from a reliable source.

Due to the increased potential for acts of eco-sabotage of OHV areas and events... I am passing this information on to you for distribution to the proper authorities.

Please be advised that Damon Powell's (much protested by Earth First! types) 6-Day Dual Sport Ride of Northern Calif. and Southern Oregon is occurring in the first part of July, 1996.

The following individuals and vehicles were seen on June 12 in Eugene, OR loading roles of barbed wire and thin gauge wire. In the past, these types of wire have been strung across trails and roads to impact snowmobiles and off-road vehicles."

The memo goes on to describe three vehicles, one with bumper stickers reading "Stumps don't Lie" and "Salvage is a Hoax," listing the license plate numbers for each. "Camo back-packs and hiking gear were noted in the back of the Van," Amador reports (shocking!).

Of course, Amador is fear mongering. No Earth First!er I've ever heard of has utilized the tactics Amador refers to. Beyond being another example of abuse

of authority, people should note that apparently there is ongoing surveillance of suspicious citizenry.

—CB

EF! Journal:

I am answering Mike Roselle's challenge (published in Yule '95, *EF! Journal* P. 23) The debate concerning the direction and vision of Greenpeace compels me to respond. Greenpeace and its high profile media campaigns helped develop my interest

canvassing. Barbara Dudley has simply responded to this pressure by recommending to the GP/USA board drastic reductions in campaign staff and the elimination of half of the canvass offices. Current attempts by DC and the International to centralize and dictate campaign priorities from the top down contradict the more progressive trends in the environmental movement in general and Greenpeace's own rhetoric in particular.

A few constructive responses to Roselle's platform. Roselle suggests that Greenpeace move its administrative offices out of the beltway. A better idea I can't think of, while the higher ups are hobnobbing with senators, movie stars, industrialists, and the FBI, local offices and campaigners continue the grassroots campaigning for which Greenpeace is known. Perhaps a more serious issue involves the reorganization of Greenpeace campaigns. It should be pointed out that there are more than two campaigns going on in Greenpeace. Dudley should have mentioned the invaluable work of the canvass offices nationally. For example: the San Francisco office helped stop the building of a new power plant in the Bay area, the Portland, Oregon office (if not all offices) works to repeal the Salvage Rider and to prevent clearcutting in Clayquot Sound, the Minneapolis office continues to lead the assault against the Prairie Island nuclear facility, we here in Amherst focus primarily on radioactive waste management concerns and fisheries protection and are getting more involved with New England forest issues. This is not a complete list nor does it represent national priorities, except the work on fishery management and protection (we've helped establish diverse support for the Magnuson Act).

The relationship between Greenpeace/USA and Greenpeace/International needs to be clarified. In my estimation GPI is de facto controlled by the European nations, specifically Germany. Greenpeace/Germany is without a doubt the wealthiest member nation in GPI. GP/USA has been under direct pressure from the International to downsize and eliminate

One of the most common complaints I hear from non-Greenpeace activists is that Greenpeace tends to want to control coalitions. I do

not have direct experience with this problem because we in Amherst effectively work in coalition with local groups such as the Citizen's Awareness Network (CAN) based in Rowe, MA. Our coalition exists because of the personal connections we have formed locally. Greenpeace wants to develop a volunteer staff to help propagate its agenda.

We need to remember Greenpeace formed to express and act on the needs of people to protect and serve life on Earth. To fight global destruction and multinational greed using Greenpeace tactics, somebody has to foot the bill. However, the need to raise money shouldn't skew the original core ethics of Greenpeace. I welcome debate concerning Greenpeace's direction and urge all Greenpeace Canvassers, campaigners, administrators, voting members, supporters, and board members to enter the discussion. We must work collectively to guarantee active public involvement in the struggle to dismantle oppression of Life and Earth.

Peace,

—NEAL TAYOR

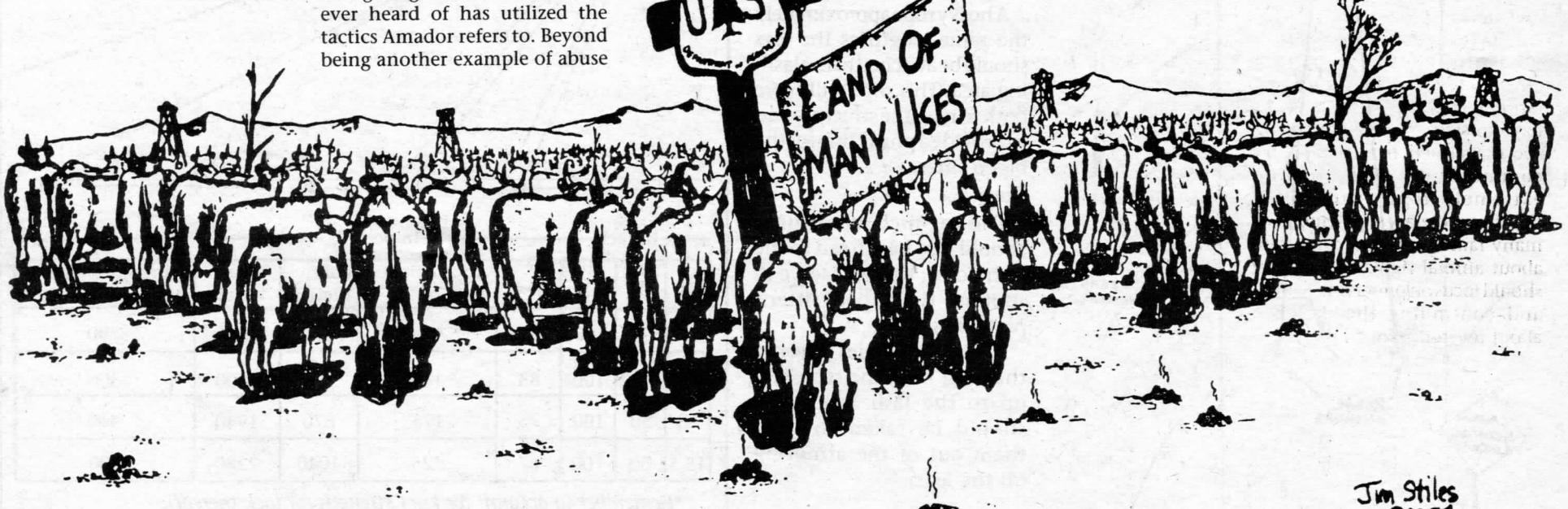
Dear SFB,

(In response to an email which stated: "The forest circus likes the stuff happening at Warner Creek. Why?, because they know where you are. They are using this against you to cut some other controversial places, while you are busy at Warner Creek." Dr. X responded:

This is a very good point and a tactically logical explanation.

Although I admire what is going on at Warner, it really only serves as a publicity stunt. If it garners a great deal of international media coverage as expected, then it may go a long way towards bringing this entire issue to the public eye. Outside of the media coverage, what is the Warner encampment *really* doing? Serving as a philosophical and symbolic battle cry for the Forest War? Yes. Stopping logging on an arson sale by a small-time timber company? Yes, as long as there are people there.

But what about the rest of the forest? What about the SERIOUSLY BIG AND NASTY corporations? What about the Convicted-felon Freres? What



THE MIGHTY PEN?

about the Mexican slaughters? What about Morgan? Sun Studs?

It is quite evident that the trees are falling in much more sensitive areas while Freddy can simply do a walkthrough of Warner to guesstimate how much resistance might be elsewhere.

When the dozers rumble towards Cascadia Free State, I, like so many others, will hurry there to witness and participate in the last Stand. I urge some caution here, though. If I were Freddy HQ, I would definitely want a prolonged seige at Warner to sap the resources of a strategically drained movement. While all eyes were on Warner, I'd mow down some of the REALLY controversial stuff elsewhere.

When the time comes, we will all need to keep our eyes open and not let Warner be a Freddy decoy. In the meantime, keep those roadpeckers well-fed!

—X

Dear Editor,

I would like to respond to Peter Wood's letter in the Beltane edition of the *Journal*. It seems that Wood has a problem with Mike Roselle's criticism of P.E.T.A.'s campaign against bass fishing. Wood says that Roselle and the *Journal* do "an excellent job in reminding us animal activists how silly and different we really are." As an individual, I am sympathetic with the view that all life is sacred, in fact as a resource user I strive for a sustainable and cooperative lifestyle. I avoid plastic, pesticides, and meat products (including fish) I reduce, reuse, and recycle. Nonetheless, I have enormously more respect for meat-eaters who catch or hunt their own than those who drive to the Price Chopper.

The whole issue wouldn't mean so much to me aside from the fact that I know more than one P.E.T.A. member who eats steak bought at the Price Chopper. I am all for the transformation of society. It takes little to convince me that interspecies coexistence rely on an evolution of Homo Sapiens' compassion. I feel Wood missed Roselle's point. The people we ALL are fighting are the pigs who bring us Agent Orange, nuclear disaster, and the all-beef patty. While maybe only a small portion of the people in question are subsistence fishermen, I agree with Roselle that P.E.T.A. would better serve the Earth by fighting corporate hog and chicken farming (a point Wood seems to have missed), than by attacking sportfishermen. In fact, in poorer communities fish, while extremely toxic, are still a significant dietary supplement for many families. If you really care about animal rights I think you should focus on preserving habitat and continuing the dialogue about reverence for all life.

—A COMMITTED LOVER OF LIFE AND EARTH

(P.S. — Peter, EF! is a movement, not an organization.)

Dear Editor,

The animal protectionists stopped the plan to reduce the

Ft. Wingate buffalo herd by nine head. Because their natural predators are gone, this action guarantees that these old animals will not "die with dignity in the wild." Rather, they will die slowly from starvation or disease. I recommend Sheehan drop one of his engineering courses and enroll in Biology 101. Lisa Jennings could also use a course in ethical journalism for her failure to mention any of the other "versions of the truth" provided by the New Mexico Game and Fish Department. Maybe one of these versions might have mentioned some other aspects of buffalo biology, such as brucellosis that she conveniently overlooked.

—HAL KANTRUD

Mr. Kantrud's claim that the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish (NMGF) only wanted to "reduce the Ft. Wingate buffalo herd by nine head" is misleading. As if letting nine "hunters" onto the enclosed Ft. Wingate Army Depot to take shots at the bison herd in a proposed canned trophy hunt this year wasn't bad enough, NMGF was planning on repeating this planned buffalo slaughter over the next two years as well. NMGF was essentially trying to introduce bison "hunting," or rather bison trophy shooting, to our state over a three year period.

This would have been the first buffalo "hunt" in our state in over a hundred years, since the U.S. Government systematically ran a buffalo killing program in order to force Native American tribes to surrender. Not surprisingly, in meetings between Native American and NMGF officials, the Department wasn't the least bit interested in hearing Native concerns that the bison is considered sacred to them and that this buffalo shoot would be yet another insult to what they hold dear. NMGF was only interested in appeasing their trophy-hunting constituents (who paid \$100 each) with guaranteed "kills."

Mr. Kantrud is correct, however, in his observation that many of the bison's natural predators are very few in number. Thanks to rancher-friendly cooperative "predator management" programs between NMGF and Animal Damage Control (ADC), it has become nearly impossible to see any large predators in the wild anymore. With ADC killing off large predators for ranching interests in our state, NMGF feels that the way to deal with increased numbers of wild grazing animals is to institute a wholesale slaughter of herbivores themselves. One begins to wonder when this vicious cycle of killing programs will end.

However, the suggestion that these bison might have Brucellosis, and hence possibly affect the huge livestock industry in our state, is false. We have obtained copies of the veterinary records of the bison herd, and all of the buffalo proved negative for both Brucellosis and Bovine Tuberculosis.

Finally, Native American and animal protection interests are actively pursuing the creation of a watchable wildlife refuge for the bison herd. This refuge would guarantee that the buffalo have food and water in times of drought,

including proper veterinary care, as well as allow the buffalo to live out the rest of their natural lives without going through yearly NMGF trophy shoots.

—RYAN SHEEHAN
SANGRE DE CRISTO
ANIMAL PROTECTION, INC.

To all concerned:

For the past two days, I have witnessed The California Forest Products Commission (CFPC) advertising their "stewardship" to the environment minutes before the world news on CBS in two separate commercials. The first one showed a major forest fire, then a pleasant-looking woman came on and said that fires are a major threat to our forests, and that is why "they" support firefighters' efforts to battle blazes. Then she went on to plug for the salvage rider (not mentioning it by name). She said that The FPC aids firefighters in reducing fires by removing dead timber. She also insinuated the timber industry only removes the bad trees that produce "fuel."

Someone taking advantage of the "fire emergency" that has recently occurred due to fire suppression?

For those of you that are up on fire ecology and proper forest management, you will be aware

protecting streamside timber from cutting. They claimed that the action did not threaten the water, wildlife, or cause erosion!!!!

We have all seen the full page ads and commercials put out by the oil industry. Some claimed stewardship to the environment by saying they developed cleaner gas—all the while they were lobbying behind the scenes to delay the production of electric vehicles. Others claimed stewardship by showing beautiful pictures of wild and scenic areas their companies were forced to preserve because the law required them to mitigate damage done by setting land aside elsewhere. Problem is—most of the areas they preserve are not so scenic and have little value to wildlife. Their commercials are as confusing as their message. Like "Do people care about the environment? (Visual of an eagle) People do."

I suspect that the timber industry has a lot more money since salvage sales are booming now, thanks to the President and 104th congress allowing the "salvage" rider to make it into law. Goodness, it must cost a bundle to run all these commercials and take out full-page ads in major newspapers. I wonder why they are doing this????? I want to know what you think.



this is a line of crap designed to get the cut out and deflect criticism from the public about the timber industry's support for bad forestry and good short-term business. We know that this commercial most likely is the result of the hiring of a PR firm, such as Burston-Marsteller, who specializes in "cleaning up" the reputation of dirty business interests.

On to the other commercial I just saw. Another handsome homely woman came on and claimed the timber industry cuts away from streams (with a lovely visual of a wild stream) to reduce erosion, keep the water clean, and provide safe cover for thirsty wildlife.

Nice message, but she failed to mention that cutting away from streams is the law, as forced by environmentalists. The CFPC were the very people opposed to

surging lifelessly through new underground pipes. The ground vibrating from its captured force. The pipes efficiently diverting water around and past the trees; by design. Kellogg Marsh, paved, had once absorbed life from the skies. The roots of those old trees had returned that life back to the skies. No more. Up the street bands played Sousa. Our County Council gathered. Kellogg Village; completed. They waved little elephant flags stapled to little sticks. Money bulged from their pockets. Buttons popped from their shirts as the developers stuff feed them. Geese flew laughingly away; forever. I awoke to realize: it's not too late.

Save Mother Nature's Window and Kellogg Marsh. Write Hi Bronson at Snohomish County Planning and Development, MS 604, 3000 Rockefeller, Everett WA 98201. Mention Kellogg Village, File Number 95-106438. Demand a full environmental impact study. Demand that a Declaration of Significance be attached to this project.

—BRUCE TIPTON

Dear Shit fer Brains:

A recent series of events left me more than a little riled.

I stopped in a massive, national chain supermarket to pick up some provisions and the first thing I see is an employee of Missoula's front-line watershed protection organization carrying his groceries out in a fresh, new crisp Stone Container-produced paper bag. As I wandered farther into the cavernous superstore, I see one of the region's most respected biologists and grizzly bear experts trying to decide which cut of beef (public lands born-and-bred, no doubt) he was going to buy to huck on the grill.

Dazed and disillusioned I made my way back to my place of employment, The Ruckus Society, in search of some sense and sensibility. As he finished his cappuccino, and cast the paper cup into the waste can (which was half full of previously discarded paper cappuccino cups) I realized that my colleague was probably not the best source of empathy and reason. Regrettably, these observations are not too much of an exception of late.

What's up with this shit?! Did someone decide that because we take the high profile, no compromise stand on behalf of Mother Earth that we're exempt from practicing responsible day-to-day living? Maybe it's that activists' responsibilities don't transcend issues (i.e., "Because I'm a watershed activist, I won't pour toxic goo down my drain. But bringing my own bag to the Safeway, so that fewer trees are murdered? Not my job, man").

At the risk of sounding like a naive, idyllic grassroots newcomer rookie type, I've got to ask: Aren't we the ones who are supposed to be setting an example here? If we're gonna do the talk, we should walk the walk; not only within the confines of our campaigns, but in everyday living—24, 7.

—JEFF GOIN

ARMED WITH VISIONS

CLEARCUT AS GLASS AND JUST AS DANGEROUS

Coronado Beach

I.

1969: Strolling the wet-dark band of beach
winter-poked by the drilling willets
seeking sand-fleas and coquinas,
we used to find hundreds of sand dollars.
The ones still clad in purple-velvet life
we returned to the ocean, but
sometimes we'd take home one or two
of the ones tumbled-smooth, bone white.

II

"Outside! Outside!" Dad and I called
to each other when we could see the
Big One working itself into a wall,
my nine-year old feet in
child-size fins. Once I caught a wave
all on my own (no push from Dad),
once I felt the power of the sea
and the rush of free fall...
adrenaline junkie ever since.

III.

My first camera was a Kodak Instamatic
and on grey beach foghorn mornings
I clicked off snapshots of Mom, Dad, and Katie
standing barefoot in the tide; the
red-roofed Hotel del like a castled mirage
behind them in the mist.

IV.

Crabbing in the tidepools, with
a string and a washer and a bit of
spoiled fat, my cousins and Katie and I
would entice small pastel-painted crabs to grab
hold; we'd soon return the trusting crustaceans
to their hidey-holes
but take home pink-eye.

V.

On particular full-moon nights in late summer
we'd file down to Central Beach
with sweatshirts and flashlights
to see if the grunion were going to run;
And other nights (our mothers planted
on the shore like beacons) we'd
belly-surf our Boogie Boards and shriek
when unknown slimy things slithered across
our legs in the dark well
of the mirrored sea.

VI.

I recall the night that my fifteen-year-old
heart first skipped a beat in the presence
of a man. The young Navel Officer wore
brown corduroys, a yellow T-shirt, and a tan,
and we all walked with him down to
the beach and along the water's edge
under the spray of stars.
Just the tow of us another night,
he bought me a cone at Baskin-Robbins and
as we strolled down Ocean Boulevard,
I was concerned that he could hear
the pounding of my virgin heart
over the surf. And chocolate-mint dribbled
over my right hand
but my left I kept free,
should he want to hold it...

VII

When the storms off the shores of Tijuana
whipped up towering crest of white-capped waves,
we'd head toward North Beach
under Navy jets that screamed and grumbled
as they kicked in their afterburners
and lowered their landing gear.
Boogie Boards idle beside us in the soft sand,
we'd sit and watch the "rain" arc off
the shoulders of the six-foot curls
(officially measured from the back) and
watch the kelp rise through the
translucent green of the stretching wave, or
(hearts racing as we sniffed
the red-flag riptide danger)
we'd sit and listen to the Roar as
we dared each other in.

VIII.

1991: Strolling the wet-dark band of beach
unmoored now by the once ubiquitous sand dollars,
I watched three porpoises riding
just beyond the roll of the gathering breakers;
I also saw a sign, orange and black and
rising from the sand: **WARNING**
CONTAMINATED WATER

DO NOT ENTER

—Susan McCampbell Ring

SEND POEMS TO:
WARRIOR POETS SOCIETY
ASUC Box 361
BERKELEY, CA
94720-4510

SNOTTY REMARKS ABOUT MATTHEW HAUN'S "STARDUST AND OTHER SNOTTY REMARKS"

BY LESLIE HEMSTREET

The *Journal* staff did Lollapalooza recently or should I say Lollapalooza did us. Metallica—Yawn! Psychotica—Super Fuckin' Yawn! As I sat there trying to try to cast a spell of corruption over these brats of yuppies who got the money from their parents for their tickets and their \$80 piercings, I asked myself, "What does Lollapalooza lack other than meaning, decent low-packaging food, and intelligible lyrics? MATTHEW HAUN!!!"

Listening to his fine new tape, I am visualizing just how much better every baking moment in Lollapalooza's air-conditioned education tent, called the Brain Trough, would've been with Matthew there drawing folks to our table by passionately ripping out poems, hawking the revolution to the youth, who always have so many choices here in America.

Matthew is an excruciatingly titillating performance artist. When he performs "Rat Torturers," a poem about animal liberation, I usually start wondering what the hell I'm doing just standing there suppressing my urges. I start thinking, "Why, I should go out and, and, and, buy a Matthew Haun tape!" Which is exactly what you should do, of course, so that you can listen to the poem as a pep talk before you quit suppressing your urges.

He warns animal researchers, "You might get hit by some extremely talented vandals..." before he incants, "You aren't researchers. You are rat torturers. You get so touchy when we rescue your furry little victims. You

really show your fangs when push comes to shove. You are not scientists. You are sadists. Now why don't you research compassion, people. You seem to know so much about the lack thereof."

He impaled me with the line, "You're not rational, you're pathological. At least Jeffrey Dahmer ate what he killed." OK. That was taking it too far. When I heard about Jeffrey Dahmer I quit being able to listen to jokes about cannibalism without getting the queasies.

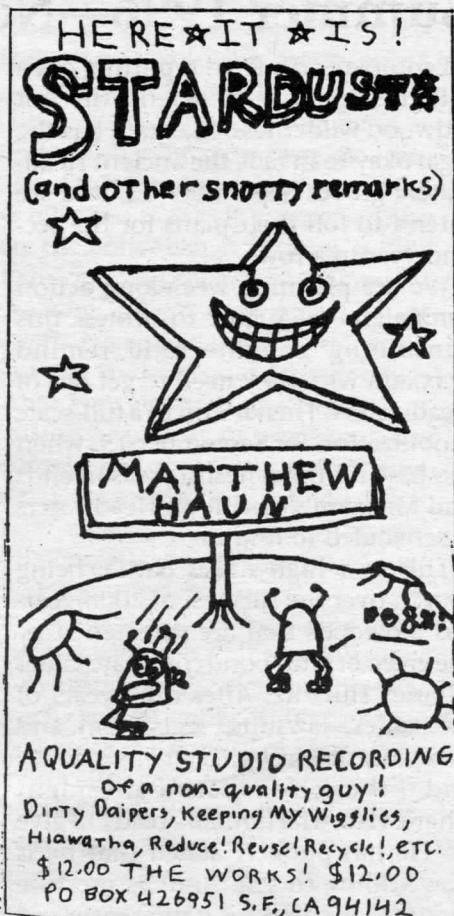
I can't stop laughing when I hear the song/poem "Jerry was a Narc." I hate the Greatful Dead and their Cult of Consumeristic Conformity. And while I'm coming out of the closet; I'll admit I was happy when Jerry died (not as happy as when Jeffrey Dahmer got his in prison, but still grinning-all-day happy.) He tells the story of Jerry getting busted by the FBI selling acid in the park and how the Dead now cooperate in the drug war. The following verse reflects the attitudes and opinions of Mr. Haun (and myself) but I acknowledge that not everyone in EF! is of one great universal mind so I sincerely apologize for the following drippingly sarcastic verse: "So let me sell you a \$30 tie-dyed shirt 'cause it suits me just fine. If you're nostalgic for the '60s when you were born in 1979. And if you see any long-lost deadhead going down the road feeling bad/looking like they've lost their savior, looking like they've lost their dad. Don't leave the poor thing standing there by the side of the auto route. Give 'em a ride, give 'em a beer, give 'em the god-

forsaken truth. Sometimes the truth is warm and fuzzy sometimes it's a little stark. Jerry was a narc!"

My favorite Matthew poem is "Reduce, Reuse, Recycle... Raaaah!" It should be the Earth First! anthem. I played it for the kids I used to babysit for (don't worry, they've ridden around in a car with poet Slughang screaming "Fucking Packaging!" and I didn't get fired) and saw their little eyes dawn with understanding. Can you kids say "greenwashing"? What really drove it home for the kids were the lines describing their own personal experience: "I just bought a cookie from the health food store. The most expensive store in the whole neighborhood. It's got a plastic wrapper that says 'organic' so I know that it's gonna taste good. Yum! Yum!"

Matthew tries to embarrass people into doing direct action with the following: "Hey there's money to be made from environmental conflict. it's a growth industry and we all play our part. The earth rappers plunder what's left of the planet and the Sierra club rips off all the bleeding hearts. And if we ever come to terms with the dolphins and whales learn to cherish their music and their watery rhythms. A lot of whalers will be put out of work yes indeed and Greenpeace will go down the toilet with them... Let's reuse the salaries of Sierra Club directors." A little accurately directed guilt trip never hurt anyone.

Another fun thing about having this tape is that you get to hear some of Matthew's poems that you may not have heard around the campfire. Stuff about "third world places where they eat cockroaches and don't have toi-



lets." Plus, with all the poems, repeated listening means you eventually hear the whole thing. Perhaps the funniest part of a poem you've only heard once was the part that happened when you were daydreaming about sex, fretting over that ingrown toenail or visualizing yourself in a wondergirl outfit kidnapping all the bad guys and converting them into useful people, nonviolently of course. Now you don't have to miss a single word.

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Activists seeking donations of land and/or money to buy land. Our vision is to enable eco-activists to practice sustainable living skills, produce organic food for campaigns, avoid burnout, and get their hands in the dirt. We are also putting together a brief directory of sustainable farms looking for EF!-minded interns. For more information or to offer help or donations, write to (and make checks out to): Cold/Mountains, Cold Rivers "Better Homes and Gardens Project," POB 7941, Missoula, MT 59807

Don't hurt your eyes looking at this, go to page 28 and subscribe to the EF! Journal

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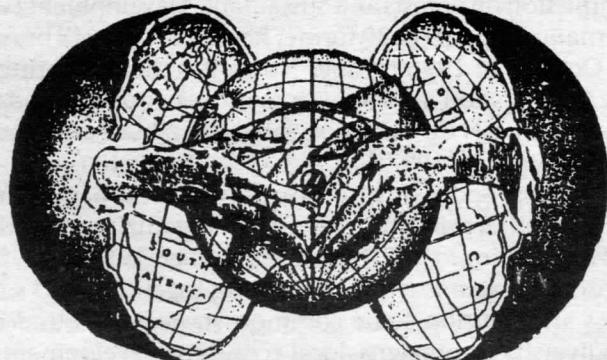


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CALL OR WRITE FOR A FREE CATALOG!

We would hate for it to seem like we

DEFEND HEADWATERS FOREST Summer 1996—Northern California

Ecotopia Earth First! is putting out a call this summer to defend the last redwood wilderness. Maxxam has the legal okay to invade the ancient Headwaters groves September 15, and we intend to foil their plans for the second year in a row.

We are planning week-long action campaigns in August to protest this continuing slaughter and remind Maxxam why they need to get out of Headwaters. Then it's on to a full-scale mobilization for September 15, when marbled murrelet nesting season ends and Maxxam's assault on Headwaters is scheduled to resume.

This is a high-stakes battle, being fought over the survival of 2000-year-old redwoods that are threatened by the greed of junk-bond corporate raider Charles Hurwitz. After nine years of blockades, lawsuits, legislation and mass campaigns by Earth First!, EPIC, and others, Maxxam's president Charles Hurwitz is finally ready to give in. He has publicly stated that he is now willing to sell. And, as pressure mounts for a debt-for-nature swap and court rulings limit his ability to cut, Hurwitz has recently filed a lawsuit demanding that the government pay him for Headwaters if they won't let him log it. But even while he is trying to arrange a sale, Hurwitz is still cutting away, taking out as many trees and as much profit as he can before he gives up the land.

If we keep up the pressure, this precious and irreplaceable forest can actually be saved. If we back down now, we could lose it all.

What to bring... Bushwacking through redwood country can be a miserable experience without the right gear. Good hiking boots are a must, along with a water bottle, sturdy clothing for cold, wet nights (hat, jacket, and gloves) and hot days, and a small pack for food and equipment (CB, flashlight, etc.). Tape recorders and video cameras are also useful to document police abuses

if they occur. At basecamp you'll need your own dish and utensils, sleeping gear and a tent or some kind of rain protection. Bring some bulk food to donate to the communal kitchen, and musical instruments and songbooks for campfire singing.

What NOT to bring... Guns, dogs, illegal drugs.

Nonviolence code:

Earth First! actions in the Ecotopia region are based on mass-organizing principles that include a specific non-violence code. These principles are not negotiable.

- No violence, verbal or physical
- No weapons
- No drugs or alcohol
- No sabotage or property damage
- and ABSOLUTELY no tree spiking!

We encourage folks to come with an affinity group of people that you know and trust, for your own safety and security on actions. While blockades are usually exciting and fun, this is not a picnic and tensions are high. We must remember that some of the people we will encounter, particularly the loggers, are exploited as much as the forest by the same corporations (in this case Maxxam) and THEY ARE NOT THE ENEMY. If you are not prepared to adhere to the nonviolence code, then please don't come.

There will be three different series of actions:

- August 16-22—Basecamp for woods actions in Headwaters Forest
- Sept. 13 to ?—Basecamp to defend Headwaters from salvage logging set to begin Sept. 15
- Sept. 15—A massive rally

If you're interested, write to Earth First!, 316 South Main Street, Willits, CA 95490 or call Ecotopia Earth First! at: Humboldt County—(707) 923-3366, Mendocino County—(707) 459-4110, Bay Area Earth First!—(510) 848-8724, San Francisco—(415) 332-5800, Santa Cruz Earth First!—(408) 425-3205 or e-mail: force.ten@lbbs.org

Free Clearcut Postcard Books

The El Bosque Pumalin Foundation, in conjunction with the Foundation for Deep Ecology, is offering *Clearcut* postcard books free of charge to activists and educators. These books feature thirty stunning portraits of forest devastation originally included in the book *Clearcut: The Tragedy of Industrial Forestry*. In postcard form, these images become a powerful vehicle for you to express your outrage at the destruction of our forests to politicians, business leaders, the media, etc.

We will be glad to send as many copies of the postcard book as needed, and can provide large orders for roadshows, conferences, etc. We only ask that you make sure the books are put to use and the postcards get sent. Also, to keep our shipping costs down, please consolidate your order with other activists and organizations in your area. In your request include the number of postcard books needed and a statement of your intended use (Who will you distribute them to?), along with your name, organization, address (Please, no PO Boxes for large orders!), and phone number.

We still have copies of the full-sized *Clearcut* book available free for educators, libraries, environmental organizations and their chapters. We also have a *Clearcut* slideshow and a twenty-five piece museum-quality exhibit available for loan.

Send your request to: Clearcut Coordinator, El Bosque Pumalin Foundation, 1555 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109; (415) 771-1102.

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Port Angeles, WA 98362

Seldom Seen Soirée

Seattle EF! Rendezvous September 6-8

The third annual Seldom Seen Soirée will be held at Tim Haugen's place in southern Colorado from September 13-16. The gathering offers participants the chance to reflect on the summer that's past, to plan ahead, to share workshops, to howl at the moon... This year we may also visit the Chicano community of San Luis, where activists from Colorado and New Mexico have worked with the traditional farmers of the area to save a watershed.

For directions and more information, send a SASE to Tim at POB 81, Gulnare, CO 81042. Information can also be obtained from Roger Wendell at aq328@freenet.uchsc.edu

Ontario Regional Rendezvous

Ontario's first Earth First! regional rendezvous is happening the weekend of September 20-22. Special invitation to all Canadian EF! and Midwest Headwaters groups. Contact EF! Toronto at (416) 698-6343 for more details and directions.

Earth First! Campfire Poems

COVER ART WANTED!!

Cover art and other graphics are requested for the forthcoming *Earth First! Campfire Poems* book. This will be a collection of core Earth First! poetry, going back to the early issues of the *Journal*. *This is your last chance to submit poems for this historic project!!*

Disgusting Plea for Money

Yep, it's time to break the piggy bank and send us your filthy lucre. Donations are needed for printing and postage.

All contributions, whether artistic or financial, should be sent to Earth First! Campfire Poems, c/o Dennis Fritzinger, ASUC Box 361, Berkeley, CA 94720-4510.
(Be sure to include zip+4.)

STOP LOGGING ANCIENT FORESTS—DEFEND AMERICA'S HERITAGE

"STOP LOGGING ANCIENT FORESTS—DEFEND AMERICA'S HERITAGE" posters are available. There are about 300 on cardboard and about the same number on kenaf paper.

If you want more than one, ask for it. Most of the cost is for postage and the mailing tube, and it's the same to send one or three.

Cardboard posters have to be UPS-ed and it doesn't make sense to send less than 15 or 20. If you want them and are willing to distribute them to a few others in your area, send your request along with \$10 or so and we'll ship 'em out.

Just send \$5-\$10 to the Siskiyou Project, POB 220, Cave Junction, OR 97523; (541) 592-4459; e-mail: siskiyou@igc.apc.org

NORTH AMERICA FOREST FORUM

The World Commission on Forests and Sustainable Development (WCFSD), an independent international panel of 30 former heads of state, will be in Winnipeg September 29 to October 5, 1996 to hold North American Hearings on forest related issues. The Commission's objective is to influence debate and report back to the Fifth Session of the UN Commission for Sustainable Development on the status of the world's forests in 1997.

Environmental groups, social justice organizations, and the First Nations Environmental Network are in the process of organizing a parallel North American Forest Forum prior to WCFSD for September 26 to 29, 1996. The aim of this NGO-sponsored forum is twofold: to bring together NGO's from North America to discuss and develop some common strategies around forest trade related issues, biodiversity, campaigns, local economic development, and social justice issues related to North American forest issues; and to provide maximum input to the WCFSD hearings on issues raised during the NGO forum.

If you are interested in helping out with the North American Forest Forum or if you want further information please call Conference Coordinators Don Sullivan or Sacha Kopelow at (204) 947-3081, fax (204) 947-3076, or e-mail: glekor10@freenet.mb.ca

are telling you what to do, but...

END CORPORATE RULE October 13-19

Come to Chicago in August to organize the National Teach-In on Corporations, Education, and Democracy. The National Teach-In, which will be held October 13-19 across the United States, was consensed upon at the founding congress of the Coalition for Socially Responsible Investment.

Historically, corporations were created with the purpose of serving the public interest. Today's corporate reality contrasts deeply with the original role of corporations in a democratic American society. Both in America and across the world, people are struggling with the reality of corporate rule and abuses. It is time for justice-minded individuals to come together and organize a broad movement to sweep the era of corporate domination from the pages of history. Such a movement needs a common language, a common understanding of history, and a shared vision of an economically viable, ecologically just, and socially sustainable democracy. We propose to do everything in our power to make these ideals a reality.

A Teach-In: The Idea

The National Teach-In on Corporations, Education, and Democracy will take place on October 13-19. This teach-in is intended to bring together hundreds of thousands of students, citizens, and community members who have struggled against corporations and the harm corporations have caused to families, communities, ecosystems, and individuals. We will give millions of people the opportunity to join a democracy movement.

Why Chicago?

The Democratic National Convention will be in Chicago. A considerable number of concerned people will be present in Chicago at that time; this gives us an opportunity to come together. We are not necessarily going to protest or participate in the Convention, but to convene about the October National Teach-In. Please contact us for further information. Come join us.

Coalition for Socially Responsible Investment, University of Wisconsin - Madison, 731 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53703; (608) 262-9036.

Alliance for a Corporate-Free University, c/o Todd Price, 244 West Lakelawn Place, Madison, Wisconsin 53703; (608) 256-6080.

Democracy Unlimited of Wisconsin - Cooperative, 29 East Wilson, Madison, Wisconsin 53703; (608) 255-6629.

Cove/Mallard Hotline

Get the latest news:

- The blockade of Jack Creek Road (three miles long and growing)
- Jake in jail in Moscow
- The Wild Rockies Road Warriors Tour
- Wild Rockies Wilderness Week (August 12-17)

Just call (801) 379-8925 or, if you're dead broke, (800) 889-5277

Better yet, get your butt to Cove/Mallard and see for yourself!

SISTER SUBVERTER DAY

Sister Subverter Day, a DIY Radical Women's Gathering, is happening September 5-8 at DOE farm in Wisconsin. You could call this an Anarchist event or you could say it's political only in the most personal sense and it's all open to interpretation. All women who envision a world where personal responsibility (mutual aid, counter-institutions, gender & race equality, you get it) takes the place of large scale oppressive governments are encouraged to come, as well as women who are just curious. We'd like to spend some time talking about our plans, our visions, what's going on in our lives, and how those all relate. There will be skill sharing, networking, games, dancing, relaxation, vegan meals, and camping, plus focused time spent on issues of land collectives, urban survival, and women working in collectives. The cost is a \$15 to 30 (negotiable) donation to DOE farm plus food donations. WOMEN ONLY. Queer positive, NOT queer exclusive. For more information, to give input, or to tell us how you'd like to participate, contact Sister Subverter c/o the Autonomous Zone at 1535 N Milwaukee Ave #420, Chicago, IL 60622; (312) 252-8054; e-mail: abaumg@artic.edu

NO COMPROMISE

As a whole the North American activist movement lacks energy, militancy and a willingness to make sacrifices. Activists are often scared, timid or really have no idea how to make changes. This lack of knowledge and energy is further frustrated by the fact that many activists feel terribly isolated from other activists.

NO COMPROMISE is trying to change all of that. By reporting on recent direct actions (Animal Liberation Front and otherwise) across the country we inspire people to action, let them know our movement is strong, active, and willing to make sacrifices, and give readers ideas on ways they can help animals. We also print commentary and "how-to" articles written by grassroots activists to educate and empower other activists to action. Further, we help groups network by listing and reporting on grassroots organizations across America.

NO COMPROMISE provides inspiration, motivation, knowledge, and community to the grassroots. But it can't do any of that unless it gets into the activists hands and remains financially viable. If you'd like to help, please contact me, Freeman Wicklund at (612) 953-429; wick0034@gold.tc.umn.edu.


NATIVE FOREST NETWORK
TWO ENVIRONMENTAL JOB OPENINGS!
Office Manager
Pulp & Paper Researcher
Both positions are half-time to start @ \$6.25/hour and may expand to full-time. Send resume and writing sample. For a complete job description: POB 8251, Missoula MT 59807.
Do it for the earth, not the money!

ACTIVE RESISTANCE a counter-convention Chicago—August 21-31, 1996

Active Resistance is a counter-convention in Chicago, August 21-31. This event will bring together the critical elements of our potential. We can and will make our future. Active Resistance will provide space and time for conversations, planning meetings, workshops and caucuses on practical campaigns and projects.

Participants will share perspectives, experience and information with each other, plan long term activities, engage in training and skill sharing, and come away with building blocks for sustainable communities.

Active Resistance is not about electoral victories. This counter-convention is not about seizing control of the state. Active resistance is about the promise of autonomy, mutual aid and community.

Active Resistance is about outcomes. We will achieve solutions to common problems. We will develop long-term vision. We will create infrastructure for creating and living in communities.

Festival of the Oppressed: The Festival of the Oppressed is both a celebration and a demonstration of solidarity, survival and struggle. Activities will take place between August 21-25, with a full day of events occurring during the Democratic National Convention. In every way possible, we maintain our distinction from the dominant culture.

So far events include the Propaganda Gallery, Soapbox Pageant, Street Theater Parade, performances, projects and parties. Please send your ideas to the AR program committee.

Safe, effective and inclusive interpersonal dynamics are an important part of our process. For the duration of Active Resistance, process agreements will be adopted to facilitate full participation.

How you can be a part of Active Resistance:

- Participant: Complete and return a registration form.
- Facilitator: If you have a workshop/free skool class to share, let us know what you need, duration, number of people who can attend at once, etc. Contact the Program Committee as soon as possible.

Housing: We are not going to be able to house everyone who is coming. What housing is available will be on a first come, first serve basis.

Food: Seeds of Peace, an activist food provision collective, will serve two free, vegan meals daily from August 21-31. Please bring your own dishes and utensils and be prepared to do food prep at least once.

Child Care: Child care will be available between August 21-25 and 30-31 if you preregister. Participants of Active Resistance are encouraged to assist with child care.

Registration: Active Resistance registration is \$25. On-site registration will begin on Tuesday, August 20 at the Autonomous Zone, 2311 W. North Avenue, in Chicago. For more info contact us at Active Resistance, c/o Autonomous Zone, 1573 N. Milwaukee #420, Chicago, IL 60622; (312) 278-0775; e-mail: ugwiller@bgu.edu or chill@burn.ucsd.edu.

UNPLUG AMERICA October 13

UNPLUG. That's what a number of Native environmental organizations want to do on October 13. UNPLUG AMERICA is not about playing acoustic guitar (although that is not a bad idea in itself). It is about looking at consumption in our houses, communities and on Turtle Island. On October 13, Indian organizations call on Native America and everyone to UNPLUG. Try to not use electricity, try to not consume, for one day.

UNPLUG AMERICA (October 13) is a day to turn out the lights, shut off the taps, cut off your engines and

celebrate your freedom from consumption. It's only one day out of the year but it's a first step towards restoring our land and resources by stopping to reflect on how much we actually consume—individually, nationally and globally—and start to act for the seventh generation.

Contact: Seventh Generation Fund, POB 4569, Arcata, CA 95521, (707) 825-7640; Indigenous Environmental Network, POB 485, Bemidji, MN 56601, (218) 751-4967; or Indigenous Women's Network, RR1, POB 308, Ponsonby, MN 56575, (218) 573-3049.


**The Culture & Animals Foundation's
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Featuring: Paul Watson: Pioneer of Direct Action for Animals
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For more information write or call: Tom Regan, Culture & Animals Foundation, 3509 Eden Croft Dr. Raleigh, NC 27612 (919) 782-3739

Proceeds from the sale of these goodies go to supporting the *Earth First! Journal*. By purchasing music and books you also support the musicians and authors active in the fight to save the wild.

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Earth First! organizer, songwriter and performer, Darryl continues to entertain the masses.

"Timber" Tape—\$12
"They Sure Don't Make Hippies Like They Used To" Tape—\$12
"I Had to be Born This Century" Tape—\$12

ALICE DiMICELE

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SEARCHING



Alice DiMichele

EXIT-13

A green, psychedelic GRIND band from Pennsylvania that advocates monkeywrenching, vegetarianism and hemp legalization.

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"Ethos Music" CDs—only \$10

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With his southern folk sound, biting lyrics and virtuoso guitar mastery, Robert is a favorite at rendezvous campfires.

"Dumpster Diving Across America" Tape—\$12 • CD—\$15
"As American As You" Tape—\$12
NEW! CD—\$15

GREG KEELER

Marvelous country-folk satire. Greg Keeler's wit must be heard to be fully appreciated.

"Songs of Fishing, Sheep and Guns in Montana" Tape—\$10
"Talking Sweet Bye & Bye" Tape—\$10
"Bad Science Fiction" Tape—\$10
"Post-Modern Blues" Tape—\$10
"Enquiring Minds" Tape—\$10

LONE WOLF CIRCLES

A magical journey into the wilderness with poetry and music.

"Oikos" Tape—\$12 • CD—\$15

DANA LYONS

Dana's soulful voice and strong guitar convey a powerful and often humorous message.

NEW! "Cows with Guns" Tape—\$12 • CD—\$15
"Turn of the Wrench" Tape—\$12 • CD—\$15
"Animal" Tape—\$12
"At Night They Howl at the Moon"
Environmental songs for kids with John Seed
Tape—\$12 • CD—\$15

PEG MILLETT

A longtime Earth First! activist and convicted felonious monkeywrencher, Peg has one of the most beautiful voices you'll ever hear.

"Clear Horizon" Tape—\$12 • CD—\$17
The CD contains all songs from the tape plus eleven songs from Gentle Warrior.
"Gentle Warrior" Tape—\$12

NED MUDD AND HIS RUSTIC BAND

Ned's music is neither politically or technologically correct. Many of the songs were recorded quasi-live in a burned-out warehouse.

"Fine Time In America" Tape—\$9

CASEY NEILL

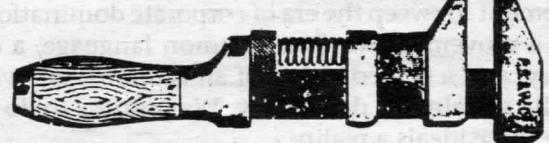
With inspiring, Earth-based lyrics and jamming guitar, Casey's a favorite Northwest musician and an uncompromising Earth First! activist.

"rifraff" Tape—\$12 • CD—\$15
"Pawprints" is currently unavailable

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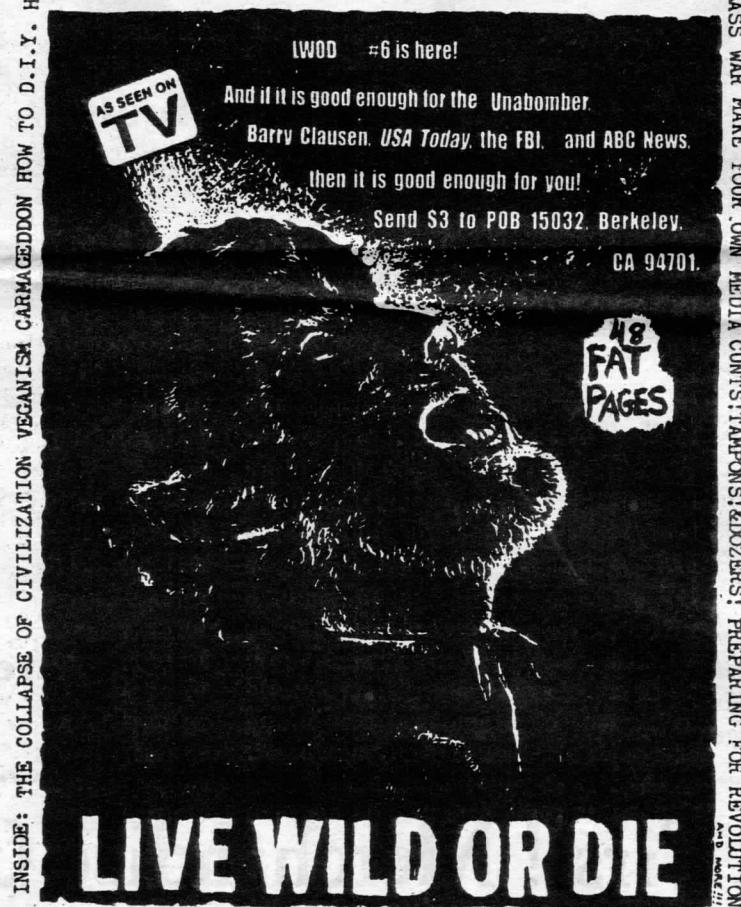


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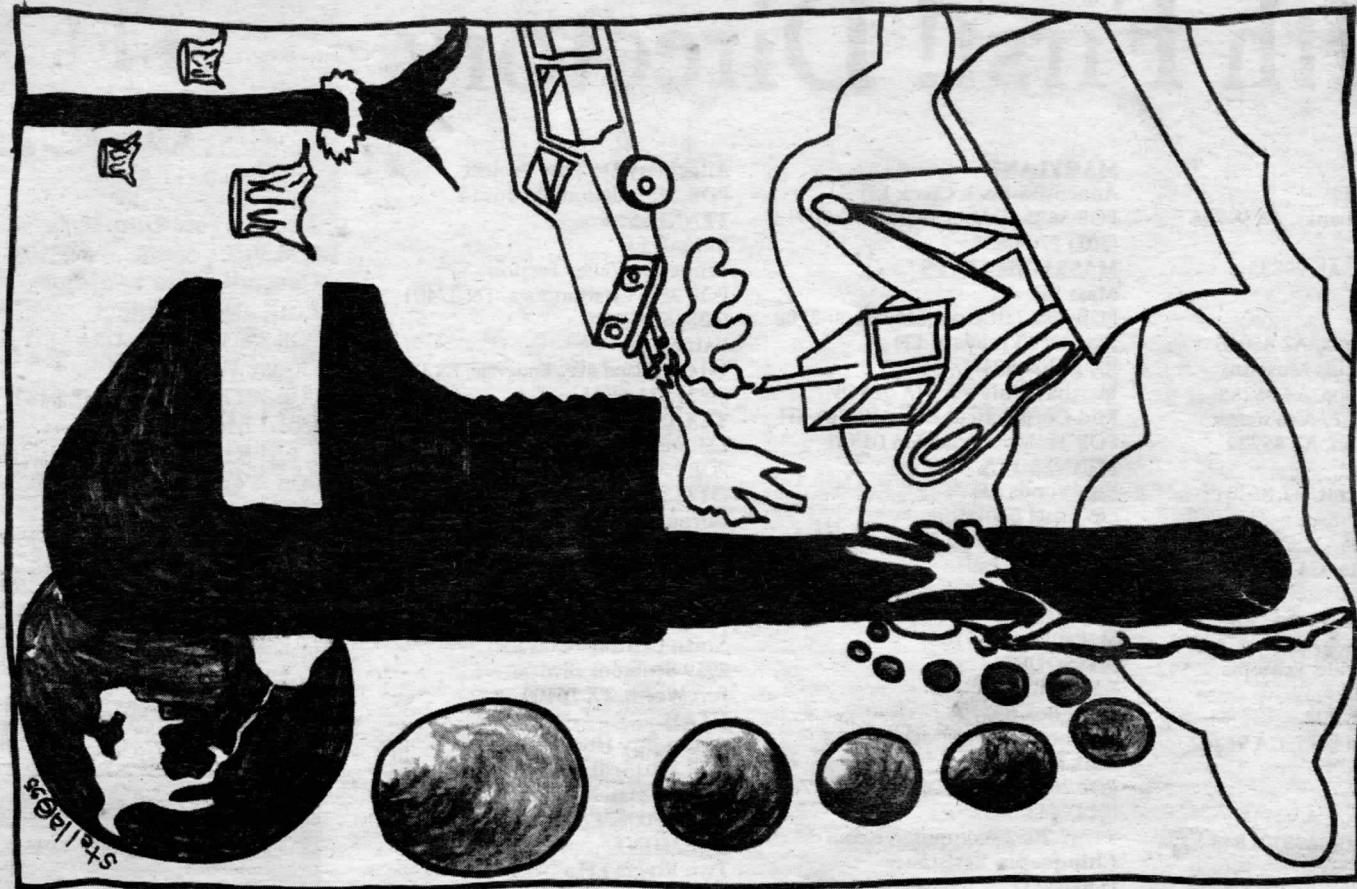
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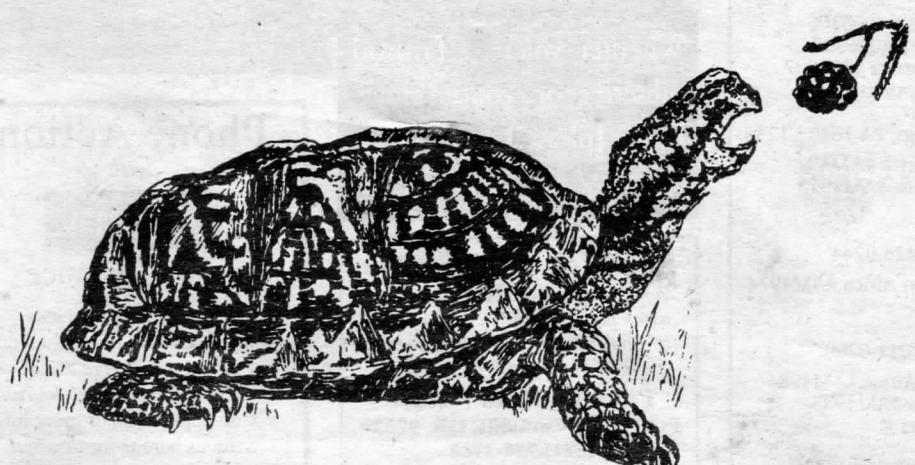
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